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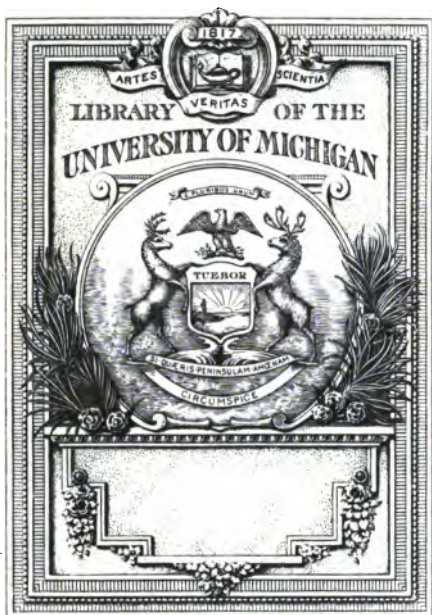
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AUTHENTIC MEMOIRS
OF THE
PUBLIC LIFE
OF
M. FOUCHÉ,
DUKE OF OTRANTO.

COMPRISING
VARIOUS LETTERS ADDRESSED TO THE
EMPEROR NAPOLÉON, KING JOACHIM, THE COMTE D'ARTOIS,
THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON, PRINCE BLUCHER,
LOUIS XVIII., COUNT DE BLACAS, &c. &c.

SECOND EDITION.

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PREFACE

OF THE

GERMAN EDITOR,

AMIDST the tempests which, after having excited the passions of a nation of twenty-five millions of men replete with energy, have, for twenty-five years, agitated the whole civilized world, France has beheld, at the head of an administration of the highest importance, and in a situation the most perilous, three men, firm and upright, supported by themselves, endowed with a strong mind and with an unusual superiority of intellect : Sieyes, Carnot and Fouché.

B

Each of them applied his hand to the regulator of the revolution. The two first endeavoured to direct its energy; Fouché tried to moderate its movement: they in following their plans employed too much confidence, or too much determination; he, examining always what was true, undertook only what was possible.

Sieyes endeavoured to consolidate by organic forms the principle * of the revolution—the sovereignty of the people: having failed of success, he retired, and was silent.

Carnot endeavoured to confirm the republic by victory. To speak the truth, he attached victory to the arms of France; but the republic perished. Inflexible as he was, he

* We distinguish the principle of the revolution, and the maxim according to which some revolutionists have acted, exemplified by this saying of Sieyes: "It is necessary that property should change hands." ("Ut redeat miseria, abeat fortuna superbis."—Hor.)

went into retirement, where he had the mortification to see the standard of France abandoned by victory.

Fouché has at all times desired only to rule the passions of anarchy in order to save the state. Always submitting to the law of social order, he observed all with care, and he more than any other accurately knew the hidden design of each party : but the depositaries of power feared him, as in the midst of all no one kept himself more firm and more free than himself. He found means to banish for some time the demon of anarchy ; at a dreadful moment it was he who saved Paris and who withheld the arm of despair, that generosity and justice might again raise up dejected France : but after he had devoted twenty-three years of his life to his country, reaction prevailed ; the crime in which the whole nation had participated of having lived in the revolution and having served the republic, drove him into

exile. He retired from France. All the passions old and new remained there.

It is the passions which have condemned the Duke of Otranto: such is the fate of every man who dares to pass through them with a free and confident step.

Henceforth he may be considered as belonging to history. It is that which will weigh his merit and his failings, his strength and his weakness; the influence of the spirit of his age and his own will. In spite of the clamour of his enemies, his age has already acknowledged his merit; his King has thrown a veil over his fault. Now, it is only God who may judge him; his cotemporaries cannot and ought not.

At this moment there has arisen in France a party, which condemns whoever has lived in the revolution, and has belonged to it, by being engaged in it and obliged to be so. The limited view of some men does not per-

mit them to see the history, nor the impetuous movement of the genius of Europe and of France in the course of the three last centuries. In their eyes it is the state of France before the year 1789, which is alone true and legitimate: whatever has since occurred, they call crimes, and whoever has participated in it, they call criminal. The emigrants left their country because they would not renounce the state of 1789, though the government, by convoking the States-General, had first set them the example. The French who remained, that is to say the nation, saw in all that passed, only the development of the destinies of their country. It hoped for a more happy futurity; and every one in France thought it his duty to contribute to it as far as he was able. He brought much evil on himself: there arose still more misfortunes. But could he who found himself in the midst of all this, ought he to withdraw himself from serving the pub-

lic cause? When the form of the government was changed, ought he to excite civil war, or call in the aid of strangers, instead of obeying the law and concurring in the re-establishment of social order? woe to him who raises up the people, to him who lights up the flame of revolution; but as soon as this exists, woe to him who thinks to subdue anarchy by anarchy, to stifle revolution by revolution! Whoever loves his country will range himself on the side of the law, which alone in the midst of the storm is willing and able to cause the voice of justice and reason to be heard.

Many have deceived themselves. Few have been culpable. The subversion or the re-establishment of a monarchy that has endured more than ten centuries is not the work of some men, nor of some years. It is not the forms of the relations, amidst which the law exists, that constitute the law; it is the law which renders the forms legitimate. Every man who

thinks aright in the delirium of opinions and in the subversion of every relation, will endeavour only to save the law ; it is thus that all which is legitimate forms itself and prospers. Let us not call wholly pure (*plein pur*) those who render homage only to certain relations : in this case, either all parties are right, or all are wrong. An individual can neither arrest the flight of time nor drive back the wheel of destiny ; but however great may be the power of the time which agitates all and embroils all, he ought and he will be able to hold fast to the law, which is the strongest anchor in the storm.

Without doubt, he who does not know what a revolution is, and how, after having been long fermenting, it has at last burst in France with irresistible force ; he also who is unable to distinguish its different phases, each in itself and all as concatenated ; he, in fine, who will not distinguish those who have taken part in the revolution through egotism or fanaticism,

to render themselves masters of it, in order that they might direct its progress and might give it such a form as should suit them, from those who, seized and hurried along by it, have committed themselves to the mercy of the torrent, or from those finally who, placed in the midst of its furies have resisted it with circumspection to preserve that which alone could be preserved—the law of all social order, obedience and liberty, by the means and within the pale of a constitution :—such a person will confound all, the cause and the effect, necessity and spontaneousness, the instrument and its mover ; he will confound the fury of anarchists with the efforts of energy, the frenzy of fanatics with the transports of sentiment, and the obstinacy of force with the moderation of presence of mind ; to him it will be equal whether he condemns the Marats or the Mirabeaus, the Robespierres or the Condorcets, the Dantons or the Carnots and the Fouchés : he condemns them all.

The Nation and the Constitution ought to be only one body, or to become so. It is that unity which is the grand problem of all government. But if the government confound that unity with identity, it mistakes its nature and is itself the destroyer of its own work. This too well known expression of Louis XIV—"the state is myself!" contains the secret of the origin of the French revolution. This expression put into action, separated, long before the catastrophe, the nation from the state; it destroyed unity by identity. The nation enlightened as it was, began to see with its own eyes, to think, and at last to act. Such is the cause which detached it from the throne, which long before it fell to the ground, had no longer any solid foundation.

The revolution appeared. Its terrible motto, "the people are the sovereign, the nation is the state," laid down the principle opposed to that which Richelieu had attempted to promulgate, and which the cabinet of Louis

XIV had established. As the leaders of the revolution acted in the spirit of that motto, the revolution advanced.

Wise men recognized the essence of all organic law—the unity of the nation and of the state. They endeavoured to re-establish it by the constitution, at first in the monarchy of 1791! but, unchained, the fury of the passions destroyed their work, afterwards in the republic; but it was again the passions which destroyed it; lastly in the consolidation of the supreme power, which produced the consulate, but this, abandoned to the passions of its chief, perished by ambition.

It was then that an approach was made to the monarchy, and the constitutional charter interceded, as the mediatrix of unity, between the nation and the constitution, in the person of Louis XVIII.; but it is still this charter which passion and hatred surround.

There have been but a small number who have recognized the powerful demon which

since 1791 has made so many plans miscarry—the demon of the passions. They have tried to subjugate it by unity under whatever form it presented itself; but they have succeeded only for moments. Among that small number we think we may reckon the Duke of Otranto.

When he entered into public life amidst the storm of the most furious passions, the republic already existed. It was not he who had established it; but it was his wish, it was his duty to obey it, because it existed. Surrounded like all his fellow citizens by the influence of his times, he has lived in a brazen age. The death of Louis XVI. was the greatest misfortune of the general perversion. He who has never felt the melancholy fatality of that time, fury within, war without, will alone dare to condemn men who, circumscribed around, could not appease the effervescence of the public mind, until familiarised with peril, they felt sufficient strength

and sufficient independence to struggle against misled opinion.

Misfortune ceased not ; it only changed its appearance. It was at this time that the Duke of Otranto, during twelve years, found himself placed in a situation which pleases no one, even when all is tranquil, because it watches over all.

What he has done will be weighed by time. There is yet much to be cleared up ; many actions cannot be placed in a just point of view, except by a circumstantial development, which our contemporaries and posterity will find in the "Memoirs of his Life," which the Duke, as is said, is actually occupied in writing.

What we are about to lay before the public is only a sketch of his public life. That sketch does not relate all that, during his life, has been done by the Duke of Otranto ; but it portrays the man as he is, his secret sentiments, the spirit of his public life ;

the principles which have guided him at all times and in the most diversified situations, and which at whatever distance he himself is placed, he has boldly avowed before sovereigns.

He has fully expressed himself in the twelve vouchers of his life, which form the principal part of the present work. We give them as authentic ; they have not yet been published, except the letter to the Emperor Napoleon of the 23d April 1814,* and two or three other documents of which have appeared some fragments greatly mutilated and disfigured, but which appear here conformable to the originals,—(*we are authorized to give assurance of this*)—for the first time. That which must guarantee their authenticity, is that the witnesses to whom they have been addressed, are still alive ; Murat alone excepted. History

* We have extracted it from the *Moniteur*, No. 525, 12th September 1815, and its authenticity is unquestionable.

will easily recognize in them the real portrait of a man who during seventeen years has always been true and the same ; for as he thought, spoke and acted in 1799, so has he acted, spoken and thought in 1815, and in the interval between them. If we examine the two circulars to the bishops and to the prefects of the first year of the consulate, and if we compare the ideas which are there expressed, and their language with the last letters of the Duke of Otranto, even his enemies will be struck with the tone of conscience, of truth, of moderation, of tranquillity and of dignity which reigns in them. It is that serenity of mind, which we scarcely ever see but in the great men of antiquity, which has conducted him, with a sure, firm and tranquil step through the most violent concussions, which have shaken even the ground beneath his feet, but have never changed his courage or his determination.

He has served Napoleon, before whom France and the half of Europe bowed ; but he has always spoke to him frankly, and without hesitation he has unveiled to him the future. The voice of candour which forewarned him, was not listened to. More than once the Duke of Otranto removed from his post, has been recalled to it. He has remained the same. If he had been only an instrument, he would have been thrown aside or destroyed. If he had been firm and free only for him, and not for the preservation of the laws and for the unity of the nation and of the state, that is to say, for the cause of France, he would have been despised and forgotten.

His views are not those of every one, his principles perhaps are not so either. But he need not fear to recognize them : even the errors of such a man are lessons to others.

The history of the world will not forget in that of the French revolution, the life of

Fouché. It is that life which will explain to posterity the truth which penetrates through that terrible dissolution of social order. For in the annals of mankind that great event will not pass without object and without leaving impressions. It is also to the revolution that providence has assigned a place in the development of the moral order of the universe. It is a frivolous hope which flatters the passions to wish to try to annihilate its effect, to wish, if I may say so, to snatch it from between the arms of time. The government which should dare to try it, would only prepare revolutions of another character. Whoever then regards with an impartial eye the life of the Duke of Otranto, will penetrate into the secret of every revolution. It exists before it is perceived ; it still remains when we think it is passed.

He is not the real statesman who defends the people against anarchy, who destroys the unity between them and the state ; but he

who restores in order to consolidate it. To condemn the passions is not to forewarn us of their dangers: it is necessary to temper their ardour by reason, or by whatever will be always true, and not by that which accidentally and for a certain time may be legitimate.

It is that which the life of the Duke of Otranto evinces. In one of those moments the most terrible which can happen to a great nation, where the ruin of the capital, where civil war, where all the horrors of terrorism and of a military dictatorship were about to arm despair itself, to hinder foreigners from approaching France; at this moment it was he whom the council of the administration of state, established by Bonaparte at the time of his abdication, and to which also Carnot belonged, placed at the head of the provisional government; a mark of confidence which alone would prove the merit of this statesman, even though it were not known,

that during twenty-three years he remained firm amidst all the chances of the revolution, by his innate vigour.

Among the many accounts which have been published of his history, nothing positive will be found respecting his sentiments before he himself has spoken. The hatred of all parties has calumniated him; a circumstance which could not well be otherwise, as the Duke of Otranto, not being himself of any party, has never armed one of them against another, but has rather endeavoured to conciliate their minds.

He has experienced that which every man who, in the midst of the factions, acts with moderation, will experience. Like so many others, who have been at the mercy of a blind public, he may say—

In moderation placing all my glory,

While Tories call me Whig, and Whigs a Tory.

That which has been said respecting him in the Journals, has partly sprung from trou-

bled and impure sources. The *Moniteur* itself, according to the will of different parties, was only their speaking trumpet. Those in power have there made every man of note speak and write in the way which seemed best to serve their interests.

Among the accounts of the Duke of Otranto there has appeared one of Vienna* which is not authentic, nor complete, nor verified: another exists which is not more so.† This exhibits the character of the Duke of Otranto such as it appears in history to the eyes of every impartial observer; but the author has not sufficiently marked the principal trait in the character of that statesman, that unshaken courage with which he has always spoken the truth to men in

* See No. 19, of the *Nouvelliste Français*, edited by Henry and Richard at Vienna: extract of a work: *Souvenirs de ma Vie*, par I***.

† See *Deutsche Blätter*, Neue Folge. Leipsig 1815. Vol III. Nos. 17. 18.

power: moreover the author of that memoir has adduced only the testimony of the *Moniteur*, and every one knows that we ought not indiscriminately to give credit to the articles of that Journal, even to those which concern public acts. It is well known that the report of the chief judge Regnier, made to the government in the trial of Moreau for the pretended conspiracy in 1804 (17th February) is suppositious, as well as the proclamation of Kosciuzko addressed to the Poles in 1807, which was only a trick contrived by the government. Both the documents are in the *Moniteur*, and both are false.

The * editor who is also the translator of

* The sketch which we at present publish of the public life of the Duke of Otranto, is the first which deserves to obtain credit, for besides being supported by twelve original documents, which assuredly will deeply interest every statesman and friend of humanity, it elucidates several points of the French revolution, which are not yet well known in Germany.

the justificatory documents has never had any relation with the Duke of Otranto: he does not know that celebrated man but by his high reputation; but he believes he knows the interests of history, which ought to enlighten posterity, the true judge of the present time.



SKETCH
OF THE
PUBLIC LIFE
OF THE
DUKE OF OTRANTO.

JOSEPH FOUCHÉ, Duke of Otranto, Grand Cross of several French and foreign orders, was born on the 29th May, 1763, at Nantes, in the department of the Lower Loire. His education was confided to the fathers of the Oratory: he was placed by his parents at nine years of age as a boarder at the college of Nantes. His first masters judged incorrectly of him: they mistook the gaiety of his character for levity, and as he showed a repugnance to study the rudiments and

the rules of grammar, they thought he wanted intellect. They afterwards tried in vain to teach him French and Latin versification ; his turn of mind could not submit to any constraint. It was thence concluded that he was capable of but little application. Mr. Durif, who directed the studies of the young men, a man of understanding, who had an affection for him and who observed him with attention, had remarked that in the library his pupil chose in preference for his reading the most serious books, and that whilst his companions read romances he occupied himself in meditating on the "Thoughts of Pascal." He wished to know one day what he understood of them ; he advanced to him and put several questions to him ; he was greatly astonished at the extent and the variety of his ideas. Far from avoiding to answer he turned the conversation to the most abstract subjects.

Mr. Fouché, destined to follow the profession of his father, who was captain of a ship,

studied mathematics and made a progress in them. He was on the point of leaving the college, when Mr. Durif represented to his parents, that the naval life was not adapted to his disposition: he advised them to make him enter the Oratory, to profess a course there. His father consented and sent his son to the institution at Paris.

They now put into the hands of the young student the Commentaries of Janse-
nius, and the Catechism of the Council of Trent. He could not overcome the disgust with which such a study inspired him: he went in search of the superior of the house, Mr. Mérault de Bissy, to whom he had been recommended in an especial manner; he dissembled nothing. Mr. Mérault, who had as much goodness as knowledge, conducted him into his library, and permitted him to choose the works which suited him best. He fixed on the *Petit Carême* of Massillon and the works of Nicole, and as henceforth he

wished to have no reserve towards a man who was about to be at once his friend and his confessor, he owned to him that he had in his chamber, Tacitus, Horace and Euclid: although the use of profane books was interdicted in that institution, he easily obtained permission to keep them.

Mr. Fouché, after having completed with distinction, a course of morality, logic, metaphysics, physics, and mathematics at the royal academy of Juilly,* at Arras, and at the military school of Vendôme, left the Oratory to marry and to establish himself at Nantes with the view of exercising there the profession of an Advocate. All those who knew him at the Oratory have preserved for him a great esteem and a tender attachment. It is thus evident,

* The royal academy of Juilly is seven leagues from Paris near Dammartin in Brie: it was celebrated for the number of the students who resided in it, and it still exists in spite of the ravages of the revolution.

that Mr. Fouché never was a priest, and that he was married before the revolution.

Mr. Malouet who, like himself, had professed at the Oratory, had for him an extreme affection. He has been seen since Mr. Fouché has arrived at the head of affairs, to brave all the menaces of authority, in order to visit him during his proscriptions under Bonaparte. Mr. Malouet himself suffered exile to Tours for his generous friendship. That which does still greater honour to that illustrious friend, is the circumstance that he had no fortune and that he sacrificed the emoluments of his place to the dictates of his heart. If Mr. Fouché has experienced much ingratitude, he has received great consolations. To be distinguished by Mr. Malouet, Mr. de Cazalès, and some other celebrated men, suffice to make him forget the great number of obscure ungrateful persons whom he has advanced during his various ministries.

Imbued early with just ideas and substantial studies, the revolution which commenced did not surprize him unprovided or undetermined. Called to the National Convention he did not seek after distinction, he secluded himself in the committee of public instruction where he connected himself with Condorcet.

We shall be silent as to his opinion on the trial of Louis XVI., since Louis XVIII. has thought proper to cover it with a veil by naming him his minister of police.

At the period when Mr. Fouché was studying philosophy at Arras, he had known Maximilian Robespierre, and had lent him a sum of money to enable him to go to and establish himself at Paris, when he was nominated to the constituent assembly. Robespierre at first saw him often, but the diversity of their opinions soon divided them. At the conclusion of a dinner which had taken place at Mr. Fouché's, Robespierre declaimed with violence against the Girondins, and directed his attack against

Vergniaud, who was present: Mr. Fouché who loved Vergniaud approached him, and addressing himself to Robespierre, said: “with
“ similar violence, you will certainly gain the
“ passions, but you will never obtain either
“ esteem or confidence.” The latter being piqued, retired.

Mr. Fouché, obliged to go on a mission into the departments, was of course compelled to assimilate his language to that of the times, and to pay his tribute to the fatality of circumstances; but in a proclamation even of the law against suspected persons, which ordered the imprisonment in a mass of the priests and the nobles, we read a paragraph which it required courage to write and to print on the 25th August 1793.

“ The law requires that suspected persons
“ be removed from social intercourse: this
“ law is required by the interest of the state;
“ but to take for the basis of its opinion vague
“ denunciations, excited by base passions,

“ would be to favour an arbitrary mode of
“ proceeding, which is equally repugnant to
“ my heart and to equity. The sword must
“ not move at random. The law commands
“ severe punishment, and not proscriptions
“ equally immoral and barbarous.”

Being sent to Lyons, he attacked the despotism of exactions, and enchained anarchy. He re-established calmness and security in the minds of men, when Robespierre accused him to the Jacobins of oppressing the patriots and of entering into terms with the aristocracy. Called back to Paris, his mind dared to raise itself against the tyranny of Robespierre: he challenged him from the tribune of the National Convention to assign the grounds for his accusation.

The fall of Robespierre put an end to these debates. It was believed that the passions would be shut up in his tomb, but it seems that our destiny is to turn in a circle of calamities and of errors. Those who had the most

debased themselves before Robespierre could not find, after his death, expressions sufficiently violent to depict their hatred. Exaggeration was carried to such a pitch that they ascribed to him the designs of assuming the dictatorship. "You do him a great deal of honour," replied Mr. Fouché quickly, "to ascribe to him plans and views: far from disposing of futurity, he did not even think of it; he was carried away; he obeyed an impulse which he could neither suspend nor direct." This reply seemed to indicate a feeling of kindness. Mr. Fouché was from that moment considered by his enemies as a Robespierreist and was soon after accused of entering into a plot to re-establish terrorism.

He was removed from the National Convention; it was not till after the dissolution of that assembly that Mr. Fouché appeared again on the scene, and was, by the Executive Directory sent as ambassador successively to Milan

and to the Hague. He defended with firmness, the independence of those two states against the weakness of his government, which after having promised to respect it, sacrificed it to foreign insinuations.

The eyes of the Directory were opened, but it was too late, the hostile armies advanced into Italy; the discontented assumed audacity in the interior, the confusion increased. Mr. Fouché was called to the ministry of general police, where he acquired great honour by the good which he did, by the evils which he prevented, and by the resistance which he opposed to the passions, in every crisis.

His first act on entering into the administration under the Executive Directory, was a remarkable report against the anarchists: "Do not hope," said he, "that they will reform; that which they undertake for the independence of their passions is to them virtue and liberty; the means, by which they menace and frighten states, seem

“ to them means adapted to prepare their
“ force and their prosperity.” He adds, in
speaking of the monsters who committed the
assassinations in the prisons : “ their remorse
“ cannot efface the remembrance of the mur-
“ ders which they have committed. The na-
“ tion sees always their assassinations which
“ appal it, and cannot read in their minds the
“ remorse which might reassure it.”

Those who see the Duke of Otrantò in the midst of his family are tempted to believe that his ideas and his sentiments do not extend beyond the circle of domestic affections. His manners are simple and regular. It is of no consequence to him that he is rich ; he disdains artifice and subtilities, he permits himself to be spoken to with freedom. He treats lightly frivolous things, and gives strong attention to all that is serious. All ideas relative to the state of man, to his happiness, to his duties, are familiar to him. Whatever contributes to form civil societies, to perfect,

to defend, to corrupt, and to destroy them, is the continual object of his meditations. He has protected, in his long and difficult administration, all modes of existence without exception; there was complete security for every individual who sought only tranquillity. He always opposed himself to laws made but for the exigencies of the moment; "they," said he often, "only confirm the evil without remedying it, because their execution which is necessarily arbitrary is always entrusted to the passions."

As the Duke has served under various governments, his enemies have endeavoured to persuade the world that his character bent itself to all; but if he had been the compliant instrument of all governments, it seems to us that he would not have passed a part of his life in exile and in proscription.

The correspondence of the Duke of Otranto, his instructions to the prefects bear the stamp of foresight and of the profound

art of managing the human heart. His style is often incorrect, but all that he writes is conceived with great elevation.

It has been said that the Duke of Otranto in his administration under the republic aimed by his instructions to the prefects to substitute morality for religion and the police for justice. We have procured the two circulars which have served as a basis for this strange accusation. Their date is in the month of Brumaire, when Bonaparte was named chief of the government of the republic. When we reflect on that period, we are struck at the courage of him who wrote them : it required at that time a great superiority of language to procure a favourable reception to the sentiments and the doctrine which are expressed in them.

Circular to the Bishops.

Paris, 25th. Brumaire,
(16th Nov. 1799.)

1st year of the Consulate.

No civilized nation has been without one or more forms of religious worship. But no known

nation has been sufficiently enlightened to assign to religion the place which it ought to have.

Some have made religious laws, like civil and criminal laws, one part of the social code, and their pontificate was a magistracy. The government was at first, the stronger on this account; but when religious opinions lost their force, it lost its own.

Among other nations government and religion have been two powers by the side of each other which came incessantly into contact, to support or to combat each other; there the ministers of religion have been alternately oppressors and oppressed. This is the history of modern Europe.

Other times are arrived; reason has prepared them; religion ought to bless them. You will no longer be exposed either to exercise persecution or to suffer it. All forms of religion shall be free; and if there is any of them which receives an especial

protection, it will be that which shall best serve the republic. The government will not grant any privilege, but it will acknowledge services rendered to it.

After so many quarrels of which we have all paid the wrongs and the errors with our blood, you must no longer cast a too melancholy look on your past power and fortune : a government, which has just been formed in the midst of the people and of misfortunes, knows nature too well to make a crime of your regrets : perhaps it even thinks that it had been more just as well as more generous and more prudent to spare you so many sacrifices and to establish gradations in those which you ought to make. But in your personal misfortunes, if you have the faith which you preach, you have a high consolation : your worship has been brought back to that which has always elevated powers which are on the decline, namely, to the principles of its institution.

See already how your calamities have

softened the hatred even of those who accuse you of their misfortunes ; an universal assent has applauded the decree which requires no longer of you any oath, which demands of you only your promise to be faithful to it. Nothing any longer constrains you even in your most timid scruples.

He who appeared to men to bring them the maxims of that celestial morality which you preach to them, demanded not so much from the powers of the earth ; those who, three centuries after the birth of christianity, placed it on the throne of the Roman empire, with Constantine, who owed them likewise that throne, had no greater means of making their faith the faith of the universe. But reflect on it : those magnificent perspectives which open again to extend themselves beyond time and visible worlds, will close again before you, if you do not abide by all that you promise to the government.

It is not being faithful to the republic to preach that it must be obeyed, if you also preach that it must be hated. To draw away from it the love of the French is to betray it. Reflect on it again : it would be in vain that you held a different language, in the sermons which are heard and in the confessions which are secret ; the secret of your insinuations in that tribunal where you dispose of souls, will be revealed by the disposition of the minds which you direct, and which you form.

No, nothing is more possible for you, with regard to the republic, than to acquire a right to its favors by preaching its maxims with yours, by engraving them together at the bottom of hearts actuated by the motives and by the immortal rewards which you offer to the virtuous.

(Signed) FOUCHÉ.

Circular to the Prefects.

Paris, 30th Brumaire,
(21st. Nov. 1799.)

1st year of the Consulate.

CITIZEN PREFECT, your relations with justice are intimate and numerous ; the relations which exist between the agency of the police and the agency of justice are really connected; they penetrate each other, and seem to blend. Incessantly they concur in the same acts. Yet how far has this concurrence, in general, been from being a perfect accord ! Surrounded with forms which it never finds sufficiently multiplied, justice has never pardoned the police its rapidity. The police freed from almost all embarrassments, has never excused in justice its delay. The reproaches which they mutually make against each other are often made by the whole society against both. The police is reproached with disquieting the innocent ; justice with not knowing either how to prevent or to lay hold of crime. Because it has been in the hands of

kings, the police has passed more generally for an instrument of despotism : justice, because it is rendered by the organs of the laws, has often appeared to wander in their obscurities and in their contradictions. Among certain people, suspicious to an excess, jealous to excess of their liberty, the police has been sacrificed to justice ; among other people more impatient of being dragged slowly in the forms and in the labyrinth of so many laws, they have made justice itself a police.

If we cast an attentive eye on the places and on the periods of their action, we shall be inclined to think that the police and justice consistently with true social order, cannot exist either without each other, or entirely confounded in each other.

Consider in fact justice before she judges and after. In the first case, shut up in her temples, she neither with honour can, nor will she leave them to direct her steps and looks into the public places, into the secret asylums, where the general and individual safety may

be disturbed, where offences, crimes and trespasses may be committed. Not only her august gravity would be compromised, but even her integrity. In that active superintendence, the judges would often be witnesses; and a judge ought never to be so. To weigh well the testimonies of others in the balance, he ought never to place there his own. In causing suspected persons to be arrested, justice would by that act alone place herself in a state of war with them, a state so contrary to just judgment. She would neither have the confidence of the accused, nor the confidence of society, nor entirely her own confidence, except at moments when she would have lost that of all the world.

Consider justice after she has judged, and when her sentences must be executed. Is it she who shall erect the scaffolds, who shall conduct to the places of punishment the unfortunate persons whom she has condemned? All the nations of the earth have felt that if the same power which pronounces a sen-

tence of death causes it to be executed, justice no longer appears to condemn culprits, but to kill men. All the nations of the earth have felt that in the midst of the terrible scenes of the execution of her decrees, justice if she preside at the execution of them, may cease to be the love, to become the terror of mankind. Of all that surrounds the judicial power, no circumstance ought to shew in it any thing else than the pure and celestial power of eternal reason ; it is then that justice will be what it ought to be—a true social religion.

The moments which precede the decrees of justice, and the moments which follow them, are then two periods in which justice herself ought not to act ; and those two periods belong to the action of the police.

It is the police which, having every where its eyes and its arms, can arrest the guilty wherever crimes can be committed. It is that which, disposing, for the maintenance of

public order, of an armed force, superior to all the forces which can disturb it,—possesses all the means, both of placing the suspected under the hands of justice, and of dispersing, or of subduing, all that would oppose the execution of its decrees.

In this division of functions between the police and justice, the most painful, undoubtedly, are those which the nature of things assigns to the police. But the most rigorous functions are those which have the sweetest rewards, in the heart of magistrates who live for their duties, and for their country : it is when they sacrifice themselves the most, that they enjoy the most. When those who pronounce a sentence do not cause it to be executed : and when those, who preside over the means of execution, have not pronounced it, in that division of two rigorous branches of administration,—the rigour of both is moderated.

To the magistrates of police, when they

direct the execution of the sentences of the judicial power, that execution is placed in the same point of view, and almost at the same distance, as to society itself, whose existence renders it necessary, and of which the general will ordains it.

What do I say? Citizen Prefects! it is when you approach it more nearly, that you will often have the more numerous occasions, and the greater means of softening to your heart the severities of your functions. Those means, and those occasions, you will always find in your vigilance to follow—in arresting suspicious persons, the positive order of the laws, and in accomplishing the sentences against the guilty,—the wishes of that sublime sentiment of humanity, which, for near half a century, and among all the enlightened nations of Europe, has resounded around the tribunals and the scaffolds.

The duty which the positive orders of the laws the most imperiously, command you to

fulfil is not to keep any citizen under the hands of the police, except during the time strictly necessary to place him under the hands of justice. The laws themselves make some exceptions to this law—the only guarantee of every other : those exceptions, rare and well determined, well limited, the laws make as if with regret, and almost with fear. If we added to them only one, we should no longer be the magistrates of police, but the agents of tyranny.

For all arrests, and at all instants the agents of the police ought then to be in a condition to produce the written proofs, which verify the precise moment when a citizen has been arrested, and the precise moment when he has been put under the care of the laws. The public has, in that respect, the right to interrogate both the minister of police, and the prefects, and all their agents.

Never forget how dangerous it is to make arrests under simple suspicions. Reflect that

your acts, even when they may be errors, will be a first presumption against those whom you conduct before justice ; and meditate in your conscience the history of so many innocent persons, who have been sent by justice to the scaffolds, only because they had been brought through error before justice.

These desires of humanity, presented by the philosophy of France to the powers and to the judges of Europe, are not thus engraven among the positive articles of our laws ; they are engraven in the hearts of all those who serve therepublic. It is not only by adding the slightest rigour to the rigours absolutely indispensable for the execution of the laws and the decrees of justice, that we should be guilty ; we should likewise be so, if we should not temper these rigours by all the alleviations of which they are susceptible. He who has not yet heard his sentence, is not yet to us an enemy of society ; he who has heard the sentence pronounced which he is going to

suffer, is no longer so. He has nothing to expiate before this; after it he has expiated all. The pity of all those who are not inexorable and barbarous surrounds him: he is now only a victim which society has doomed to sacrifice; society ought to weep over its own misfortune and his.

The necessity of punishing crimes is intimately connected with the imperfections of the social system, which knows not how to prevent them: in punishing them the ministers of social order contract a great debt towards humanity which covers itself with the veil of mourning, which groans and laments.

Discharge, Citizen Prefect, that sacred debt, with all the circumspection, with all the consideration, with which pity will inspire you for such great misfortunes.

(Signed) FOUCHÉ.

The talents of the Duke of Otranto were appreciated by Bonaparte; but his ideas, his manner of conducting the police were not

suitable to the object which he proposed to himself. He established by the side of his minister's police, another police; strange expedient. We have constantly seen those who were pursued by the police of Bonaparte, take shelter under that of his minister. It is this which explains the consternation of France at each of the disgraces of the Duke of Otranto.

After the first of these disgraces, Bonaparte placed the Duke in the senate, and announced his nomination by a message, in which he passed the greatest eulogium on his minister. As he had participated in the opinion that this minister aimed at uniting the department of justice with the police, he wished out of opposition to unite the two ministries to justice.

Soon opinion was tormented by a multitude of spies, who all wished to make themselves important. There was no longer any direction, all proceeded at random. The police had no longer that activity which spreads

and which seeks the light. Every where a false zeal multiplied accusations. General Moreau, who lived tranquil in the middle of Paris, was enveloped in a conspiracy. His trial excited general indignation. Bonaparte had the courage and the strength of mind to recal his former minister : this recal calmed every mind as if by enchantment ; the Duke of Otranto, who was the friend of Moreau, induced him to retire for a time to the United States, and obtained authority to remit to that general the value of his property in France.

The second ministry of the Duke of Otranto was about to become more stormy than the first. The more popularity the minister acquired, the more suspicious did Bonaparte become : the polices were multiplied, both to observe that of the minister, and to execute all the orders which it was known he would have refused to obey. Bonaparte incessantly hurried out of France by the spirit of conquest, de-

pended upon his minister for the tranquillity of the interior, and, in fact, there never was more calm, and more security in the interior, than when Bonaparte was at a distance. When he returned, he became more exacting. Accustomed to conquer abroad, he the less tolerated resistance at home.—After the peace of Tilsit, the Duke of Otranto tried to prevail upon him to occupy himself with the government of his empire. “You may,” said he, “conquer new provinces, but nothing at present can add to your power. The conquest of Spain, with which your eyes are dazzled, is a vain possession; you are really sovereign of that country, since you draw from it soldiers for our armies and considerable sums for the treasury. Dread lest the nominal title of master should strip you of that double resource; consider the present, but look to the future!”

Flattery prevailed; Bonaparte departed for Spain: what passed at Bayonne caused a

fermentation in the interior of the kingdom. It was represented to him as a conspiracy; Bonaparte, alarmed, re-entered France. The conspiracy vanished, like a phantom, when he re-entered Paris. He departed for the north; fortune which had opposed him in the south, seemed to prepare new obstacles for him. His victories are more sanguinary and mixed with reverses. The English make a descent at Walcheren. The Duke of Otranto, who was then charged with the administration of the interior and of the police, caused a numerous national guard to be everywhere raised. "Let us prove," said he, "to Europe, that if the genius of Bonaparte can give splendour to France by his victories, his presence is not necessary to repel our enemies!"

The impulse given to the nation was general. The English hastened to re-embark. Bonaparte made peace at Vienna, and returned quickly to Paris. The national guard was disbanded, and the minister who had

dared to say that Bonaparte was not necessary was disgraced.

Bonaparte, to conciliate public opinion, appointed his disgraced minister governor of Rome; but before his departure he sent to him General Berthier Prince of Neufchâtel, to demand his correspondence; the Duke of Otranto replied, that that correspondence was his guarantee, that he would not deliver it up, and as this request was accompanied by menaces: "Go, report to your master," said the Duke, "that for twenty-five years I have been accustomed to sleep with my head on the scaffold. I know the effects of power, I do not fear them."

It was then that the Duke was exiled to Aix, in Provence; from whence he was shortly after recalled by Bonaparte. The first interview was not a fortunate one; the Russian war did not accord better with the principles of the minister than that of Spain had done. The Duke retired to his estate. Bonaparte

wrote to him from Dresden to come and join him. The Duke's ideas of peace and moderation displeased ; Bonaparte ordered him to repair to Illyria, to take upon him the government of that province.

The Duke of Otranto was scarcely in Illyria when war broke out. Having no force to oppose to the invasion of the enemy, he returned to France, when he received from Bonaparte a letter, which commanded him to go to Naples. The Duke gave to that court all the counsels which wisdom and circumstances prescribed. If King Joachim had followed his advice, he would not have taken the path which leads to catastrophes.

It is of importance, in order to give an idea of the style in which the Duke wrote to Bonaparte and to King Joachim, and of his counsels at the critical situation in which Europe then was, to make known the two following letters :

The Duke of Otranto to the Emperor Napoleon.

Rome, Dec. 27, 1813.

I have taken leave of the King of Naples ;
I must not dissemble to Your Majesty any
of the causes which have arrested the natural
activity of this Prince. The

1st, Is the uncertainty in which You have
left him as to the command of the armies of
Italy. The King, in the two last campaigns
has given You so many proofs of his devo-
tedness and of his military qualities, that he
expected to receive from You that mark of
confidence. He feels himself humbled at
once by Your suspicions, and by the idea of
being placed on the same level with your
generals.

2d. It is incessantly said to the King : if to
preserve Italy to the Emperor, you leave your
kingdom unprovided with troops, the English
there make landings and excite seditions,
so much the more dangerous as the Neapo-
litans complain loudly of the influence of

France: in what state, add they, is that empire? Without army; discouraged by a campaign, which its enemies do not consider as the end of its evils, since the Rhine is no longer a barrier, and since the Emperor, far from being able to secure Italy, can scarcely oppose the invasion of his frontiers of Germany, Switzerland, and Spain, Think of yourself, they write to him from Paris; depend only upon yourself. The Emperor can no longer do any thing even for France, how should he guarantee your States? If in the period of his full power he had the idea of uniting Naples to the empire, what sacrifice would he be induced to make for you? he would sacrifice you at present for a fortified town.

3d. On the other side, Your enemies oppose to the picture of the situation of France that of the immense advantages which his accession to the coalition presents to the King: this Prince consolidates his throne,

aggrandizes his States ; instead of making to the Emperor the useless sacrifice of his glory and of his crown, he will diffuse on both the most brilliant lustre by proclaiming himself the defender of Italy, the guarantee of its independence. If he declare for Your Majesty, his army abandons him, his people revolt ; if he separate his cause from that of France, all Italy will flock to his standards. Such is the language which men who are nearly attached to your government speak to the King. Perhaps in this they only deceive *themselves* as to the means of serving Your Majesty. Peace is necessary for all the world : to determine the King to put himself at the head of Italy is in their eyes the surest means to compel You to make peace.

I arrived at Rome on the 18th. Here, as in all Italy, the word Independence has acquired a magic virtue. Under that banner are ranged without doubt various interests, but all countries wish for a local government,

each complains of being obliged to go to Paris for claims of the least importance. The government of France, at so great a distance from the capital, presents to them only heavy charges, without any compensation. Conscriptions, imposts, vexations, privations, sacrifices; these, say the Romans, are what we know of the government of France. Let us add that we have no kind of commerce, neither interior nor exterior, that there is no opening for our products, and that for the little which comes to us from abroad we pay an excessive price.

Sire, when Your Majesty was at the highest pitch of glory and of power, I had the courage to tell You the truth, because it was the only thing you wanted. At present, I owe it to You equally, but with more discretion, because You are in misfortune. Your speech to the Legislative Body would have made a deep impression on Europe, and would have affected every heart, if Your Majesty had

added to the desire which You have manifested for peace, a magnanimous renunciation of Your ancient system of universal monarchy. Until You have declared yourself on that point, the coalesced powers will believe or will say that this system is only adjourned; that You will profit by events to recur to it. The French nation itself will remain in the same alarm. It seems to me that if, in that case, You would concentrate all your forces between the Alps, the Pyrenees, and the Rhine, and if you were to make a frank declaration not to go beyond those natural frontiers, you would have all the wishes and all the arms of the nation to defend your empire: and, assuredly, that empire would still be the most beautiful and the most powerful in the world; it would be sufficient for your glory and for the prosperity of France. I am convinced that You cannot have a real peace but at that price. I fear I am the only one to speak to you this

language. Mistrust the falsehoods of courtiers ; experience ought to have made you acquainted with them. It is they who have pushed your armies into Spain, into Poland, into Russia ; who have made You remove Your most faithful friends, and who latterly also have dissuaded You from signing the peace at Dresden. It is they who deceive You at present, and who exaggerate to You your power. There remains enough to render You happy, and France peaceful and prosperous ; but there remains no more, and all Europe is persuaded of this ; it would even be useless to endeavour to impose an illusion on it ; it would no longer be deceived.

I conjure Your Majesty not to reject my councils ; they proceed from a heart which has never ceased to be attached to You, even at moments when it could have wished it. I have not the foolish self-love to imagine that I see better than another : if

every one had the same frankness, they would hold to You the same language. They would have spoken to You as I did after the peace of Tilsit, after the peace of Vienna, before the war against Russia, and in the last place at Dresden.

For the dignity of man, it is afflicting that I should be the only one who dares to tell You what he thinks. If Your Majesty experiences new misfortunes, I shall not have to reproach myself with having ceased to tell You the truth. In the name of heaven, put an end to the war; grant that people's minds may be able to find a moment of repose.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) THE DUKE OF OTRANTO.

To King Joachim.

Florence, 20th January, 1814.

I have received Your letters and the copy of those which You have written to the Emperor. I preserve them to make use of them

when occasion shall present itself. If You read the account which I rendered to the Emperor, of the situation of Italy, and of the motives which have determined You to negotiate with the coalesced powers, You would be convinced that I have no need to be encouraged to dare to speak the truth. I have always thought, that it is betraying princes to conceal it from them.

You think that Your alliance with the coalition is the only means of preserving the throne, and that that alliance will serve the true interests of France better than Your arms. It would be superfluous to repeat to You the objections which I have made to You on this subject ; but I ought to insist on the necessity which exists for Your establishing a good army. It is Your security ; it is the means of possessing influence in the coalition. Do not fear defections among Your officers and Your soldiers when you shall be at their head, when they

shall be convinced that You serve Your country. Who has more than You exposed his life for it, and in a manner more glorious? Make it known that You put Your army in motion only for the good of France and that of Your own country.

You have been thought indecisive until now, and therefore all opinions, all sentiments, have had no center, no support, no direction. Your army, instead of acquiring moral power and discipline, has lost its time in political contentions. Your generals have themselves thrown doubt into their minds, by demanding what could neither be granted to them, nor refused. I conjure You, think above all of creating for Yourself a high consideration; make Your character esteemed; that will ultimately be Your only power, that will be the only barrier which they will not dare to cross. What sovereign would wish to draw upon himself the odious reproach of having violated the faith which he had pledged to

you ? Ambition is not blind to such a degree ; people dare not always do all that they can.

You desire me to defend You against calumny ; do not render Yourself uneasy respecting the judgment which will be passed on the part that You have taken. It was my duty to divert You from it ; I have fulfilled that duty conscientiously. But now when your decision is interrupted, I owe to the friendship which You have for me, to tell You, that the slightest hesitation would be fatal.

It would give to Your new allies the right to mistrust You, and to require of You guarantees. Your conduct, in this case, will be appreciated, like every thing in this world, by its success. If You can contribute to the general pacification ; if Your name acquire sufficient weight in the balance of the affairs of Europe, to elevate the dignity of thrones and the independence of nations, You will be blessed over all the earth.

Hasten to proclaim that You have made

an alliance with the coalition only because it lends its assistance to that noble design. Shew to Italy the extent and the solidity of Your real views for its prosperity. Vague hopes would only agitate it, and would not obtain its confidence.

I see with pain the insurrections in the country ; they will destroy Your resources, and will produce an anarchy which You will no longer be able to repress. If You are obliged to make *levies en masse*, You must do so with circumspection. Order and discipline do no harm to activity. Be watchful to stir up only those passions which You will be able to satisfy.

Pardon the frankness of my counsels, in consideration of the desire which I have to see You happy and sufficiently powerful to restore to France what You have received from her.

I have the honor to be, &c.

(Signed) THE DUKE OF OTRANTO.

P.S. I have this moment received the letter in which You request me to commit to writing the reflections which I have had the honour to make to You respecting the constitution which is required of You. I shall immediately occupy myself with that work. Do not suffer Yourself to be induced, I intreat You, to throw out among the Neapolitan people ideas for which they are not prepared. Treat them as You have treated Your children; grant them nothing but what is suitable for them. I fear that this word *constitution*, which I hear throughout my journey, is, in the majority, only a vague desire not to obey.

Buonaparte had just abdicated when the Duke of Otranto arrived at Paris. It was generally regretted that he was not a member of the provisional government; his knowledge, his definite views, might have prevented, perhaps, many evils. He wished to give a last proof of his interest to Buonaparte,

he wrote to him, advising him to repair to the United States ; this letter is a monument for history ; it serves to enable us to judge of the dispositions and character of the Duke of Otranto.

*Copy of a Letter written by the Duke of
Otranto to the Emperor Napoleon.*

23d April, 1814.

SIRE,

When France and a portion of Europe were at Your feet, I dared constantly to speak to You the truth. Now, that You are in misfortune, I experience more fear of wounding Your sensibility by speaking to You the language of sincerity ; but I owe it You, because it will be useful, and even necessary.

You have accepted, as a retreat, the Isle of Elba, and its sovereignty. I have listened attentively to all that is said on the subject of that sovereignty and that isle. I think it is my duty to assure you, that the situation of

that isle in Europe is not suitable for Yôu, and that the title of sovereign of some acres of land is still less suited to him who has possessed an immense empire.

I entreat you to weigh these two considerations, and you will feel how well they are founded.

The Isle of Elba is at a very little distance from Africa, from Greece and from Spain ; it almost touches the coasts of Italy and of France. From that isle, the sea, the winds, and a small felucca may bear you suddenly into countries the most exposed to agitation, to events, to revolutions. Stability as yet exists no where ; in this state of the mobility of the nations, a genius like Yours may always excite inquietude and suspicions among the European powers : without being criminal, you may be accused ; and without being criminal, you may also do ill ; for alarm is a great evil for governments, as well as for nations.

The King, who ascends the throne of France,

desires to reign solely by justice ; but you know by how many passions a throne is surrounded, and with what address hatred gives to calumny the colours of truth.

The titles which you preserve, by recalling every instant what you have lost, can only serve to augment the bitterness of your regrets ; they will not appear the wrecks, but a vain phantom of so many grandeurs which have vanished. I say more ; without honouring You, they will expose You to the greatest dangers, It will be said, that You keep those titles, only because You retain all Your pretensions. It will be said, that the rock of the Isle of Elba is the fulcrum on which You wish to place the lever, by which You will seek again to raise up the whole of the world.

Permit me to tell you all my thoughts. It would be more glorious and more consolatory for you to live as a private individual ; and, at present, the most safe and the most suitable

asylum for a man like you, is in the United States of America. There, you will recommence your existence, in the midst of a people still new, who will know how to admire your genius without fearing it. You will be under the protection of laws equally impartial and inviolable, as all who breathe in the country of Franklin, of Washington, and of Jefferson. You will prove to the Americans that if you had been born among them, you would have thought and voted like them ; and that you would have preferred their virtues and their liberties to all the dominions of the earth.

(Signed) THE DUKE OF OTRANTO.

The friends of the King often saw the Duke to ask his advice, and his counsels. He recommended to them all *not to establish a struggle between* ancient passions and the new ones, between the nation and the emigrants, he repeated every day to the ministers :

“ Be silent as to all wrongs ; place your-

“ selves at the head of all the good which has
“ been done for twenty-five years ; throw the
“ evil on the governments, and more justly
“ still on the events, which have preceded
“ you ; avail yourselves at once of the virtue
“ which has shone forth in oppression, of the
“ energy which has been developed in our
“ discords, and of the talents which have been
“ produced in delirium. If the King take not
“ the nation for his support, his authority will
“ become weak, his courtiers will be reduced
“ to promote around him barren homage,
“ which will ruin him !

“ Take care not to touch the colour of the
“ cockade and of the standard of the nation.
“ That question is not well understood ; some
“ do not foresee all the trouble which they
“ will have to make France bend before a
“ standard which during twenty-five years she
“ has regarded as that of civil war.

“ The question relative to the national
“ colours is frivolous only in appearance ; it

“ decides every thing ; it is the question of
“ the standard under which the nation shall
“ rally ; that question will appear in the eyes
“ of the nation the triumph of a party over
“ her ; the colour of the ribbon will seem to
“ decide the colour of the reign.

“ This sacrifice is for the King what that of
“ the mass was for Henry IV. ; the three co-
“ lours, besides, were those of that prince.”

They continued to ask counsel of the Duke of Otranto, but they had not the resolution to follow any of them, as they suffered themselves to be hurried on by the passions, the Duke retired to his country seat. All parties blamed this resolution. A man who had had much influence, and who began to lose it, proposed to the Duke of Otranto to enter into a plan for effecting a change ; he was written to in order to engage him in a secret committee. He wrote on the note of invitation which he had received, this single sentence : “ I do not work
“ in hot-houses ; I will do nothing which

“ may not appear in open air to the whole
“ nation.”

Several important persons of the court were in correspondence with the Duke, particularly Mr. Malouet, his friend and his former companion at the Oratory. His most trifling notes were laid before the King. There were remarked, at that time, the following passages of one of his letters to the Count d'Artois :

“ The oblivion of the past, which has been
“ already proclaimed, cannot be too often and
“ too solemnly proclaimed ; it should instantly
“ be rendered a law of the nation and put at
“ the head of all its laws.

“ And what would become of us, what
“ would become of France, if it were permitted to compel the delivery of the registers of
“ the past, from which we wish for ever to
“ separate ourselves ! We should replunge
“ ourselves again into it, and it would be
“ still more frightful. The accusations proceeding from the throne would be sent back

“ to the throne with facts of which the evidence has penetrated every mind and every conscience in Europe. All has been exaggerated, liberty and power. There have been faults, excesses, perhaps even crimes ; but there have been some on all sides ; and in all sublime virtues were allied with excesses.

“ The King will imitate the example of Henry IV., and not that of Charles II., who, after having promised oblivion, shamefully perjured himself and prepared for the dynasty of the Stuarts a new forfeiture which was accomplished under his brother, and which was, for that time, irrevocable.”

On the 23d of June, the Duke of Otranto wrote to Mr. de Blacas, who had commenced a correspondence with him on the part of the King :

“ The agitation of France has for causes ; in the people, the fear of the return of the feudal rights ; in the possessors of national

“ domains, who form so great a portion of our
“ population, the uneasiness as to their pos-
“ sessions; in those who have pronounced
“ themselves strongly in favour of the Re-
“ public or for Bonaparte, the doubt as to
“ their personal safety; in the army, the loss
“ and the regret of so many hopes of glory
“ and of fortune, which Bonaparte incessantly
“ presented to the ambition and to the imagi-
“ nation of the soldiers and the generals; in
“ the class of those who desired for France
“ that which England has possessed for many
“ centuries, the surprise in which they are left
“ by the constitutional charter, which the
“ King has wished to render an emanation
“ from the hereditary power of his throne.

“ Among these causes, the most dangerous
“ was precisely that the action of which all the
“ wisdom of the King and of his ministers
“ could not have foreseen nor entirely hinder-
“ ed. The discontent of the troops, an incon-
“ venience which takes place, more or less, at

“ the conclusion of all wars, must necessarily
“ act with much more extent and danger at the
“ end of the wars of Bonaparte, which seemed
“ to promise the division of Europe among his
“ lieutenants : but it is only through other
“ causes that the action of this one can be-
“ come very serious.

“ An army, and above all an army formed
“ by conscription, always assumes the spirit of
“ the nation in the midst of which it lives. In
“ the end it always becomes contented or dis-
“ contented along with and like the nation; and
“ if when it has lost all at once the chances of
“ fortune which the wars of a conqueror of-
“ fered it, the soldiers who have returned to
“ their habitations, hear their fathers and
“ mothers, their brothers and their friends
“ express fears for their property, for their
“ safety, and for their liberty, then the govern-
“ ment, however strong it may be, and how-
“ ever dear it ought to be to the nation, ought
“ also to fear every thing for itself: it will in

“ vain have eyes and ears present and open
“ every where, it will always have reason to
“ fear.

“ Mallet was not a fool ; he was an auda-
“ cious man. Other men will be fools and will
“ endanger all that France expects from the
“ return of her Kings.

“ In order effectually to arrest the action of
“ that cause, the only one really menacing, the
“ only one with which the genius of Bonaparte
“ might yet ally itself, it is necessary to sup-
“ press the other causes ; it would have been
“ much easier not to put them in motion.

“ What is it that has spread disquietudes
“ so lively and so universal amongst the pur-
“ chasers of national domains ? it is that the
“ guarantee which has been given to them
“ had equally given by the same proclama-
“ tions, and by the same declarations, to
“ millions of Frenchmen who, during the re-
“ public, have given votes which could be-
“ come imputed faults or crimes only under

“ the monarchy : their cause is the same, and
“ as the engagements entered into with the
“ one have not been fulfilled, the promises
“ made to the others no longer quiet their
“ apprehensions.

“ A nation in which during twenty-five years
“ the mind and the spirit have been in action
“ sufficiently powerful to give concussions to
“ the universe, cannot, without long gradations,
“ re-enter into a state of peace and repose : we must not then attempt to stop its
“ activity, we must give to that activity, now
“ become devouring, other aliments,—we
“ must not tell it that it ought to renounce
“ the idea of being the first nation in Europe,
“ we must direct its genius and its incomparable natural faculties towards a grandeur
“ useful to other nations and infinitely more
“ glorious for itself, we must open and enlarge
“ on all sides the unlimited career of every
“ species of industry, of every branch of commerce,
“ of every useful and elegant art, of

“ every science, and of all their discoveries ;
“ in fine of all that extends the intellectual
“ faculties and the power of man. The nine-
“ teenth century has scarcely commenced : it
“ ought to bear the name of Lous XVIII., as
“ the seventeenth did that of Louis XIV.

“ The interests which are become the most
“ dear to the nation, are all attached and subor-
“ dinate to the interest of the new social order,
“ established by the constitutional charter. The
“ most prompt means of encircling the throne
“ with all the affections of the French people
“ is to present to its passion for political and le-
“ gislative debate, the discussions of the cham-
“ ber of peers and of the chamber of deputies,
“ on projects of laws, as the law repressing the
“ abuses of power and the offences of the press,
“ the law of *habeas corpus*, which determines
“ the conditions of the greatest individual li-
“ berty, a plan of public instruction, where that
“ which is the most pure in reason and most

“ certain in religion might concur in teaching
“ morality to all the classes of the people.

“ Ah ! how many sacrifices of passions the
“ most personal and the most obdurate would
“ be obtained if asked of a people satisfied
“ with its laws and with its government !

“ A multitude of Frenchmen devoted to
“ all the misfortunes of the Bourbons, as they
“ had been to their power, have returned with
“ the dynasty of their kings ; but they cannot
“ enter again upon domains which are no longer
“ theirs, without exciting violent commotions
“ and civil war. The greater number have not
“ even domains to reclaim. Well then ! let
“ one of the ministers of His Majesty, with the
“ logic of an accurate mind, and the elo-
“ quence of a soul which feels all that is due to
“ great misfortunes and to great virtues, de-
“ mand of the chamber of peers and of the
“ chamber of deputies an annual sum, to serve
“ as an indemnity to misfortune and indigence,

so worthy of being assisted by an heroic and generous nation ; I am confident that the proposal in the chamber would be passed into a law by acclamation.

“ It is thus that reactions have an end, and that this end becomes the peace and the happiness of all.

“ I have the honor to be, &c.

(Signed) “ THE DUKE OF OTRANTO.”

If we wish to know what the Duke of Otranto was doing at his mansion of Ferrieres, near Paris, he gives an account of it himself in a letter which he wrote to a minister of the congress of Vienna, on the 25th of September, 1814.

“ A person who has had the honour of seeing you at Vienna, has given me an account of the obliging manner in which you have spoken to him of me. I am sensibly affected by this kindness.

“ This person has assured me, that you

were persuaded that I had influence in public affairs here. I must speak to you with sincerity : since I took leave of you at Paris, I have retired with my children to my estate, where I devote myself to their education. Do not think, however, that I forget, in my retreat, the interests of France and of Europe ; they will always be dear to me, and they are inseparable in my thoughts as in my affections. My most profound conviction is, that at all times, but now above all, and also for the future, all the nations of Europe, at whatever distance from each other they may be placed, must be together enlightened or ignorant, at peace or at war, in adversity or in prosperity ; they will aid or injure each other more than ever. England herself will be subject to this law ; to preserve her prosperity, she must communicate it around her.

“ Under these circumstances, when the greatest interests are going to be agitated at the congress about to be opened at Vienna, I

cannot refuse myself a correspondence with you respecting it. You know the frankness of my character, and my love of truth ; I will not dissemble any thing with you. I will speak to you first of France ; I am a Frenchman. I will speak then of the German empire: and to speak of that empire will be speaking of all. It is very true indeed, and well understood, that the Emperors of Vienna have nothing in common with the Emperors of ancient Rome ; but it is also very true that, not only since the time of Charles Vth, but since that of Charlemagne, it is in your empire and by your Emperors that the political destinies of Europe have always been subjected to laws less changeable and less arbitrary than those which force alone imposes on nations. The congress of Vienna brings to recollection the treaty of Westphalia, which has done so much good to more than twenty nations ; and we expect still more from that of Vienna. Here the sovereigns themselves are assembled.

They will have no excuse in the eyes of nations, if they do not secure to them peace and happiness.

“ There have been for a long time great revolutions, those which have made France pass from the ancient monarchy to the republic, from the republic to the empire of Bonaparte, and from that empire to the constitutional monarchy of the Bourbons. In all these movements, there has been but one in which the whole nation has taken a real part; that which in 1789 tended to give to the king and to the nation a constitution destined to legitimate, to consecrate, and to perpetuate the authority of the one and the liberty of the other; this alone is what we aimed at; we have been dragged into all the rest. We have been, as it were, precipitated into the conquest of a great part of Europe, which we sufficiently expiate.

“ Some months ago, on the very brink of an abyss deeper than all the rest, France

thought she had reached the end of all ills, and of all misfortunes. That ray of hope has gleamed, and is extinguished. We see no more abysses around us ; but we hear the deep hollow noise of the passions which are digging them beneath our feet.

“ What are those menaces and those presages ? Whence do they spring ? We ought to know this well in order to remove them.

“ It is very certain, that since the 30th and the 31st of last March, the return of the Bourbons into France, and their establishment upon the throne has appeared to the French of all parties the most prompt and the most certain means of putting an end to all revolutions and to all wars ; and this end, after so many fatigues and evils, has seemed to all, not happiness, but repose, too necessary to be refused, sufficiently mild to be even desired. But is it in obedience to masters, or in a liberty subject to laws and to kings,

that they meant to repose? You were at that period at Paris; I appeal to your testimony.

“ France has no longer an exaggerated sentiment of her independence; she knows a present that liberty, peace, and prosperity can be had only where the spirit of order, of regularity, and of subordination reigns. But she is not in the same situation in which some states of Europe are. They have usages and manners which are barriers against the invasions of power, and in France all is destroyed; it is only a constitution which can be ouregis.

“ You will perhaps object, that France has obtained from the wishes and the will of the King, all the constitutional independence that she desired; at least, all that she needs, all that she can enjoy without danger. Yes, doubtless, if we judge of the constitutional charter *granted* under Louis XVIII. by the good faith of his royal character, by the care

which he will take, constantly to interpret all the equivocal articles in the most national sense; not if we may judge by the manner in which these articles have been already interpreted; even this word *grant* has alarmed all minds.

“ The nation has seen, with grief and humiliation, that its King has not chosen to receive from it the new fundamental laws, which were to regulate all the authorities and the destinies of all; it is astonished, that when called by it to a throne raised upon new bases, he has disdained to add to the titles derived from his ancestors, the suffrages given by the representatives of thirty millions of Frenchmen.

“ All hearts have been oppressed when the King was made to violate his engagements, which ought to be sacred and inviolable as his person. From that moment the ideas of frankness and probity, which had been conceived of the government of the Bourbons,

and which rendered their return and their reign so easy, have been changed into distrust and extreme alarm. The parties which were ready to show towards each other a rivalry in sacrifices and generosity have resumed their pretensions. Instead of an affecting scene, the effect of which would have been so useful, so moral, let us dare to say, what we perceive at the bottom of our hearts, all existences seemed to be delivered up to resentment and vengeance; and in these dangers, which may be imaginary, people turned their eyes on every side to look for ramparts, supports, and defenders.

“ I shall not be accused of having shewn too little zeal and foresight in my correspondence with the court. On April 23d, I wrote to his royal highness Monsieur, “ While “ enjoying the present it is necessary to se- “ cure the future. Our futurity must not “ consist of a few days of acclamations, but “ of a long course of happy reigns and of

“ages. The fair days which shine upon
“France will soon be clouded and darkened,
“if the slightest alarms are allowed to be
“spread.”—On the 23d of June I wrote to
Count Blacas, “We well know where re-
“actions begin; we know not where they
“stop: they hurry every thing along with
“them, particularly the sovereign power, be-
“fore which resistance does not become sen-
“sible and visible, till it is stronger than this
“power itself.”

“I have just explained to you the dan-
gerous paths into which the King has been
led, and the influence of this first step on the
temper of people’s minds. I will now speak
to you, with the same frankness, upon what
the French feel from the reduction of their
territory, and their new relations with
Europe.

“At the origin of the revolution, in those
still serene days, and whose serenity spread
itself over the public mind, one of the first

political dogmas professed and decreed by the constituent assembly, was the *horror* of conquests ; and it was not one of those formulæ of moderation, which often veil the most ardent ambition ; it was the sincere and pure expression of the sentiments of a people who preparing to be free was deeply impressed with the necessity of being just, and of surrounding with limits its force, like that of kings, and of other nations, whether slaves or free. For above half a century this *horror* of conquests had filled the most eloquent pages of our sublimest writers ; and, warned by the lessons of the wise, people's hearts were opened to the gentle impressions of the sentiments of nature ; at that time we all thought, not like Louis XIV. and Louvois, but like Fenelon and the Duke of Burgundy.

“ Why then did we attack all Europe ? My answer shall be very simple. Because all Europe attacked us. Europe menaced us on all sides, not because we desired to con-

quer, but because we desired to be free. The emigrants went out of France not to abandon it, but to re-enter it with arms in their hands, supported by the armies of Austria and Prussia. Our frontiers resounded with the trumpets of war; three or four large hostile armies were already at the gates of Paris; and we were decreeing principles and laws; we had not yet any army. As soon as we had one it was invigorated with all the energy and all the enthusiasm of liberty. The French, victorious at Jemappe, soon arrived in Belgium; but Belgium was not conquered; it offered, it gave itself to us. It was indeed a very rich indemnity for our ravaged provinces, for all the evils that had been inflicted on us, for those with which we were still menaced; and though an ancient tradition, already consecrated in the Gauls, and constantly preserved, made the left bank of the Rhine the natural barrier of France; yet even after the superiority of our arms was established; after we

had begun constantly to advance and never to retrograde ; those French citizens who perhaps best understood the interests of the republic, did not wish it to extend to the Rhine.

“It is under the reign of Napoleon, not under our popular constitutions, that all the limits assigned to France by nature, and by the European law of nations, have been overthrown and exceeded by our conquests.

“France has made conquests without desiring them before, or losing them after they were made. But I must say, she bitterly regrets them now that she has lost them ; not because this loss is a diminution of her territory, but because it is a diminution of her glory.

“There is vanity in this, I confess ; but nations are vain like individuals ;—you do not think that vanity which laments over its wounds deserves neither regard nor tenderness.

“ When a nation that is vain is also proud, intrepid, skilful, and heroic in the military art, it is necessary to give to the wounded vanity of such a people all that is necessary to console it ; all that the rights of other nations and universal morality do not refuse it. It is from humbled vanity that the tempests have more than once proceeded that have convulsed the globe.

“ It was doubtless a great benefit for the German empire, and for Europe, to have put an end to a war which had lasted thirty years, almost without truce or interruption, and in which the demon of destruction often raged upon more than thirty fields of battle

at the same time ; yet this was not the greatest benefit of the treaty of Westphalia. What merits the eternal gratitude of mankind is the having stifled, by this treaty, so great

a number of germs of dispute, and of combats, to which this very war had given birth : it is the having formed points and ties of

conciliation for all the diverse interests; it is the having given to the world the first example of several religious sects, which consent to live in peace at the side of each other, to divide the temples between them, and even to make use of them sometimes without dividing them; it is the having stipulated for the interests of so many little princes, of so many little towns, of so many individuals almost imperceptible in this treaty, where powerful electors, kings, and an emperor figured as contracting parties; it is the having caused to issue from this immense chaos, in which all seemed for ever confounded and lost, not another chaos, but order, and even principles of morality and of justice, which are no longer separated from politics; which Leibnitz has sanctioned by his admiration, and Frederic the Great by his sword, which had for an instant endangered them:—lastly, it is the having placed in the midst of Europe, where for so many ages all had been

decided by arms, an empire composed of Powers subject to tribunals and to laws.

“ This social edifice, composed of materials wholly gothic, but united by a modern plan and cement—this edifice, in which thirty millions of men found protection and security, no longer exists ! Another war, also of nearly thirty years’ duration, has destroyed not only the building, but even the materials. It would be very difficult, to say the least, to find them all again ; and it would be impossible to put them together in their ancient integrity, and arranged in the same manner.

“ What, then, is to be done ? Another plan must be formed, which of course must be as little remote as possible from the German habits—but which, however, may receive all the changes that the course of ages has rendered necessary. I should desire another social organization, which might approximate to the former, in being composed also of va-

rious nations, of various states, of different princes, united by conventions, by laws, and by common forces,—but which, to the advantage of all, might differ from it in as much as the knowledge of the nineteenth century is superior to that of the seventeenth.

“ The country of Germany, from the Baltic to the Tyrolian Alps, and from the Rhine to the frontiers of Poland, can contain with sufficient convenience, and support in sufficient prosperity, ten or twelve states, which should be neither too strong nor too weak. These ten or twelve states would have a distinct existence, and they would have one common to them all. They would obey one set of laws, which might be different for each ; and another set, which must necessarily be the same. It is easy to see that I mean here a confederation of states, each of which would have its peculiar sovereignty, and altogether would form and recognize another sovereign.

ty destined to protect each by the strength and justice of all.

“This plan would require as many particular constitutions as states, and one general constitution, which should be the federal, and even the social bond of these ten or twelve states.

“In these constitutions, each state should enact its laws by its representatives ; and, at the head of these legislations, should be princes and kings, invested with a part of the legislative, and the whole of the executive power.

“The federal representation and power should arise as of themselves from these twelve states and twelve representative governments, and they should have for their chief an elective emperor.

“I only indicate some general views ; but, if they were not disdained as chimeras, as dreams, the means of execution would be easily found ; they would occur in abundance to so

many enlightened men who are going to form the congress at Vienna.

“I will conclude this long letter by pointing out the advantages of this plan, which can displease only the blind partisans of absolute power, and which would give to the twelve monarchs a greater and more inviolable authority, than all those which have hitherto governed and desolated the earth.

“1st. All the princes of Germany who have been dispossessed of their titles and stripped of their fortunes, will find, in the high chambers of the constitutions of their respective countries, appointments conferring honour and fortune, and indemnities for all their losses: the great electors and the kings will see their territory extended, their power augmented, and their authority become more sacred and more dear; the free cities will be freer than ever—they will be encircled at once by their rights, by their ramparts, and by all the strength of the mo-

narchy of which they will make a part; as well as of the empire, of which their monarchy will itself be a part. The title of head of the German empire will no longer be a title almost as vain as lofty: this august title will place in the hands of the emperor a real power, as great as that of the ancient emperors of Rome.

“2d. It is affirmed that Poland, which is so near to Germany, will be re-established in its ancient integrity and formed into a monarchy, with the Emperor Alexander for its king.—What a union of strength in the same hand! In that of Alexander it can be only beneficial; it will be so both for the people over whose destinies he is to preside, and even for all others. The high magnanimity which he displayed in the capital of France, and his tender love of humanity, are certain pledges of this. But in another hand—in that of his successor, if he be not another Alexander,

how terrible may this union of strength be to the whole globe!

“ The German empire, constituted on this new plan, would check and arrest all the irruptions of the north into the west of Europe; and, Russia and Poland united, would no longer be able to issue from their boundaries with success, except into the vast deserts which separate them from China, or towards the more southern and more fertile parts of Asia, which have long declined from the civilization of Semiramis and Cyrus into the barbarism of the Tartars.

“ 3d. There is nothing which tends to increase the power of princes like the good which they do to their people. Germany and its twelve free monarchies, by the sole force of their influence and of the power of reason, would shortly be imitated by all the countries of Europe, where there is yet nothing similar. The course of the French government, which

is not equivocal, but uncertain, would become more firm, and would no longer excite any uneasiness. The liberty of the press would be no longer employed, except to bring to the throne of the Bourbons the expressions of the love of the French, and the creations of a genius, the friend of social order. Ferdinand VII. has perhaps too much injured the Cortes and the enlightened men of his nation ever to love them; but if, under his reign, Spain cannot be without the Inquisition, the Inquisition would be most certainly without autos-da-fé; and as soon as it shall be seen that the autos-da-fé can no more be lighted, there will be nothing formidable in the Inquisition but the name. The congress of Vienna would do itself honour in the eyes of human reason, if it demanded that even the name of the Inquisition should be abolished at Madrid and at Rome. The Pope would then confess, that it is improper to

undertake to purify that which is monstrous and abhorred.

“ I have the honour to be, &c.

(*Signed*) “ The DUKE OF OTRANTO.”

As the Duke of Otranto had several times repeated, that the manner in which things went on prepared a new concussion in France and the return of Bonaparte, his enemies inferred, when Napoleon landed, that it was he who brought him back ; they surrounded the King and obtained from his Majesty an order to have the Duke conveyed to Lisle, and carried off as a hostage. Some gens-d’armes and agents of the police went to his house, but such is the ascendant of probity and courage, that none of the sbirres dared to lay hands upon his person. In the night preceding this attempt the Count of Artois had desired a conference with the Duke of Otranto. This conference took place at the Count d’Escars,

and lasted several hours. It is presumed, that the Prince's proposals were not accepted, and it was doubtless feared that the Duke would lend his aid to the new order of things.

It is to be remarked, that the name of the Duke of Otranto is not found mingled in the various intrigues which took place during his several administrations. He has served several governments with equal fidelity and success, but he has never been their confidant.

When Bonaparte arrived at Paris he sent for the Duke of Otranto. "They wanted to carry you off," said he, as he approached him, "to hinder you from being useful to your country. Well! I offer you an opportunity to render it fresh services. The moment is difficult, but your courage and mine are superior to the crisis. Accept, once more, the ministry of the police."

The Duke shewed, in their full extent, the dangers of the situation of things. After

having received the assurance, that Austria and England secretly approved of Bonaparte's escape, and of his return to France, he accepted the office of minister of police.

All the words and all the writings of the Duke inspire the most profound security. As he had never wanted consolation when in disgrace, he had no need of vengeance when in favour. He did not propose to Bonaparte a *vain* amnesty, he wrote to him that he must be ignorant of every thing; and, in this respect, he gave the example which he recommended. He caused the apprehensions of his enemies to be quieted, and passports to be given to those who could not believe, that he would pardon the injuries which they had sought to do him.

Every thing proceeded in concert between Bonaparte and his minister, till the moment when the latter received from Vienna a letter; written by a member of the congress, who positively declared, that Bonaparte would not

be recognised, that all the powers were unanimous, and were preparing to march against him. Then the Duke spoke to Bonaparte about this communication, and represented to him that it was impossible that France could sustain the shock of all Europe united, that it was necessary he should declare himself frankly to the nation, and make himself certain of the final determination of the sovereigns; that, if they persisted, there was no room for hesitation; that his own interest and that of the country made it his duty to abdicate, and to retire to the United States.

This counsel was noble and wise; it would have spared many evils, many ravages, had it been followed with magnanimity. But it wounded the pride of Bonaparte, and excited in his mind suspicions of him who had had the courage to give it.

The allied armies were advancing to the frontiers of France. Bonaparte in a short time collected a formidable army, at the head

of which he marched towards the north. A terrible reverse brought him back to Paris, and, at length, urged by the solicitations of the Duke of Otranto, he consented to abdicate; it was too late to prevent the misfortunes which oppressed the country, the impulse was given, and the foreign armies poured like a torrent into France on every side.

The Duke of Otranto was called to the head of the government. Never was a statesman placed in a more delicate or more perilous situation. Bonaparte was still at Paris, in the Palace Elysée; the French army, which knew not the extent of its losses, or the number of its enemies, demanded to march to the combat; a numerous party in the two chambers seconded the enthusiasm of the army. In the *Moniteur* we find the discourses, the proclamations, and the messages of the government of France, which are all evidently of the Duke's writing. It re-

quired great courage and extraordinary ability to moderate the zeal which exalted all heads, and to stop it on the brink of the precipice.

Plenipotentiaries were named by the chambers, and sent to the ministers of the sovereigns, with instructions, with which we are not yet acquainted. The letters from the Duke of Otranto to the Duke of Wellington and Prince Blucher, which follow here, afford sufficient ground to presume what these instructions were; they are important, because they throw a great light on facts, which passion and ignorance have obscured. The letter to Prince Blucher proves, that in the critical situation in which the country was, the Duke knew how to combine vigour of mind, and the dignity of his official character, with the sentiment of what became his situation.

Those who have spoken the most of the independence of France have said nothing stronger or so precise; for the declamations

against the Bourbons add nothing to the solidity of the arguments adduced, and avail nothing. The French nation had just been conquered ; but licentiousness alone was to be feared, because that is the only thing that ever can subjugate it.

LETTER I.

To His Grace the Duke of Wellington, Commander in Chief of the English Army.

Paris, June 27, 1815.

MY LORD,

You have just illustrated your name by new victories over the French ; it is by you then that the French are the best known and appreciated. You will vote for their rights amidst the powers of Europe.

In the council of Sovereigns your credit and your influence cannot be less than your glory.

The voice of nations, which neither calumniates nor flatters, has proclaimed your cha-

racter. In your conquests, your law of nations has been justice, and your policy, the voice of your conscience.

You will find the demands which we make through our Plenipotentiaries conformable to the strictest justice.

The French nation wishes to live under a monarch, but it wishes also that monarch to reign under the empire of the laws.

The republic has made us acquainted with all the fatal consequences of the excess of liberty ; the empire with the miseries attending the excess of power. Our wish, and it is unalterable, is to find at an equal distance from these excesses, independence, order, and the peace of Europe.

All eyes in France are now fixed upon the constitution of England ; we do not aspire to be more free than she ; we will not consent to be less so.

The representatives of the French people are employed upon its social compact. The

powers will be separated, but not divided ; it is on this very separation that it is proposed to found their harmony.

As soon as this compact shall have been signed by the Sovereign who shall be called to govern France, this Sovereign will receive the sceptre and the crown from the hands of the nation.

In the present enlightened state of Europe, one of the greatest misfortunes for the human race is the disagreement of France and England ; let us unite for the happiness of the world.

No man, my Lord, at this moment can so powerfully contribute as yourself to place all mankind in a happier condition, and under the influence of a better genius.

The President of the Government of France,

(Signed) The DUKE OF OTRANTO.

LETTER II.

*To his Highness Prince Blucher, Commander in
Chief of the Prussian Army.*

Paris, July 1, 1815.

PRINCE,

Independently of the course of our negotiations, I consider it as my duty to write to your Highness personally, on the subject of an armistice, the refusal of which, I must confess, seems to me inexplicable. Our plenipotentiaries have been at the headquarters ever since the twenty-eighth, and we are still without any positive answer.

Peace already exists, since the war has no longer any object. Our rights to independence, the engagement entered into by the Sovereigns to respect them, would subsist in the same force after the taking of Paris; it would therefore be inhuman, it would be atrocious to fight bloody battles, which would

make no change in the question to be decided.

I must speak frankly to your Highness; our state of possession, our legal situation, which has the double sanction of the people and of the two Chambers, is that of a government, in which the grandson of the Emperor of Austria is the head of the state. We could not think of changing this state of things, unless the nation had acquired the certainty that the Powers revoke their promises, and that their common wish opposes the preservation of the existing government.

What then can be more just than to conclude an armistice? Is there any other means to leave the Powers time to explain themselves, and France time to learn the wish of the Powers?

It will not escape your Highness's observation, that a great power already finds in our state of possession a personal right to inter-

vene for its own interests, in our internal affairs, as long as this state shall not be changed. There results from this an additional obligation for the two Chambers not to consent, now, to any measure capable of affecting our possession.

Is not the most natural course to be followed that which has been adopted upon our eastern frontiers? Marshal Bubna and Marshal Suchet have not confined themselves to an armistice; it has been stipulated that we should resume our limits as fixed by the treaty of Paris; because, in fact, the war should be considered as terminated by the sole circumstance of the abdication of Napoleon.

Field Marshal Frimont, on his side, has consented to the armistice, in order, as he says, by preliminary arrangements, to meet those which may be made between the Allies. We do not even know whether England and Prussia have changed their intentions, on the

subject of our independence, for the match of the armies cannot be taken as a certain indication of the will of the cabinets. The will of two powers is not even sufficient for us ; it is their agreement which it is necessary for us to know. Would you wish, Prince, to anticipate this agreement ! Would you wish to raise obstacles to it, and cause a new political tempest to arise from a state of things so nearly bordering upon peace ?

I do not fear to meet every objection. It is imagined, perhaps, that the occupation of Paris, by two of the Allied Armies, would promote the views which you may have of reinstating Louis XVIII. on the throne ; but how can the increase of the evils of war, which could not be ascribed to any other cause, be a means of reconciliation ?

I must declare to your Highness, that every indirect attempt to impose a government upon us, before the Powers have explained themselves, would immediately force the Chambers

to measures, which would leave, in no case, the possibility of coming to an understanding. The interest of the King himself requires that all should remain in 'suspence. Force may replace him on the throne, but it will not maintain him there. It is neither by force nor by surprise, nor by the wishes of a party that the national will can be brought to change its government. It would even be in vain, at this moment, to offer us conditions to render a new government more supportable to us. There are no conditions to examine so long as the necessity of bending beneath the yoke and of renouncing our independence shall not have been demonstrated to us. Now, Prince, this necessity cannot be even suspected before the Powers are agreed. None of their engagements have been revoked ; our independence is under their safeguard ; it is we who enter into their views and into the spirit of their declarations. It is the besieging armies which depart from them.

• According to these same declarations—never were any more solemn—all employment of force in favour of the King, by those same armies, in that part of our territory where they alone command, would be regarded by France as the formal avowal of a design to impose a government upon us against our will. We may be permitted to ask your Highness if you have yourself received such a power? Besides, it is not force which pacifies. A moral resistance rejects the form of government which the King had been made to adopt; the more violence should be employed towards the nation the more invincible would this resistance be rendered. The intention of the Generals of the besieging armies cannot be to compromise their own government, and to revoke, in fact, the law which the Powers have imposed upon themselves.

• Prince, the whole question is comprised in these few words :

Napoleon has abdicated as the Powers desired; peace is then re-established; one ought not even to put the question, Who is the Prince that shall reap the fruit of this abdication?

Would our state of possession be changed by force? The Powers would not attain their object; besides that, they would violate their promises—promises made in the face of the whole world.

Should the change proceed from the national will? In this case it would be necessary, for this will to declare itself, for the Powers first to make known their formal refusal to suffer our present government to subsist. The armistice is therefore indispensable.

These, Prince, are considerations, the whole force of which it is impossible not to feel. In Paris itself, if the event of a battle should open its gates to you, I should hold to your Highness the same language; it is the lan-

guage of all France ; torrents of blood would then have been made to flow in vain. Would the pretensions, which should be the cause, be thus rendered more secure or less odious ?

I hope soon to have relations with your Highness which will lead both sides to the work of peace, by means more conformable to reason and justice. The armistice will permit us to treat in Paris, and it will be easy for us to come to an understanding upon the grand principle, that the repose of France is an indispensable condition of the repose of Europe.

It is only by seeing near at hand the nation and the army, that you will be able to judge on what this repose and the stability of our future situation depend.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) THE DUKE OF OTRANTO.

The Allies refused to negotiate with the Plenipotentiaries of the French government.

The first negociation took place at Neuilly, between the Duke of Otranto and the Duke of Wellington. It is for these two celebrated men to inform us respecting their conference. We know only one result of it: that is, that Paris was preserved from the horrors of an occupation by force of arms. The Duke often repeated to those who maintained that the fate of the capital was not an irretrievable misfortune: "Paris is to France, what Rome was to the Roman empire." All parties allow, that we owe to the Duke of Otranto the preservation of the capital.

Louis XVIII. was at St. Denis; the Duke of Otranto was sent for to him. We may easily guess the subject of this interview by the letter which the Duke wrote to him the day before. It is proper to call this letter back to our remembrance, because it explains his political doctrines, and the causes which have excited the passions against him.

Paris, July 7, 1815.

SIRE,

The return of your Majesty leaves the members of the government no other duty than that of separating. I desire, in order to acquit my own conscience, faithfully to lay before you the opinion and the sentiments of France.

It is not your Majesty who is feared : you have seen, during the space of eleven months, that confidence in your moderation and your justice supported the French amidst the fears with which they were inspired by the enterprises of part of your court.

All the world knows that your Majesty is not deficient in either knowledge or experience ; you know France and the age you live in ; you know the power of opinion ; but your goodness has too often given ear to the pretensions of those who followed you in your adversity. From that time there were two

people in France. It was doubtless painful to your Majesty to have incessantly to repress these pretensions by acts of your will. How often must you have regretted that you could not oppose to them national laws.

If the same system is renewed, and if your Majesty, deriving all powers from inheritance, recognizes no other rights in the people than those which come from the concessions of the throne, France, for the first time, will be uncertain in its duties; it will have to hesitate between its love for the country and its love to the Prince; between its inclination, and its conviction. Its obedience will have no basis but its personal confidence in your Majesty; and if this confidence suffices to maintain respect, it is not thus, at least, that dynasties are confirmed, and all dangers removed.

Sire, your Majesty has perceived that those who carried power beyond its due limits, are little calculated to support it when it is shaken; that authority destroys itself in the

continual combat which forces it to retrograde in its measures; that the fewer rights are left to the people, the more does a just distrust lead it to preserve those which cannot be disputed; and that it is always thus that love is weakened, and that revolutions are prepared.

We conjure you, Sire, deign this time to consult only your own justice and your judgment. Believe that the French people now attach as much importance to liberty as to life, and will never believe itself free if there are not between the powers rights equally inviolable. Had not we under your dynasty States-General, which were independent of the Monarch?

Sire, your wisdom cannot wait for disastrous events to make concessions; it is then they would be prejudicial to your interests, and perhaps even more extensive. At this moment, concessions draw people's minds nearer together, pacify, and give strength to the royal authority; at a later period concessions would

prove its weakness; they would be extorted by disorder, and people's minds would remain irritated.

(Signed) THE DUKE OF OTRANTO.

It appears that the Duke's principles were agreeable to the King, since after having frankly declared them, he was named minister of the general police of the kingdom.

The King and the Sovereigns desired this minister to make them acquainted with the state of France. There appeared successively upon this subject a note to the four ministers of the high powers, and two reports to the King.

The literary merit of these three documents is remarkable; but what strikes us most is the courage, the positive and firm ideas of an enlightened minister on the dangers of the throne and the country, who foresees the blows that may be aimed at them both from within and without.

The two reports have been circulated with rapidity all over Europe, even before they were printed. It is to be doubted whether they have been published entire. They have been warmly attacked : they are the sole cause of the Duke's disgrace. While raising the nation, he has lowered all parties : all have been dissatisfied with his estimate of their respective strength. The ultra-royalists have uttered the loudest cries. An account was one day given to the Duke on the subject, in the presence of Lord Castlereagh and a large company. " If the importance of a party depends on a secret," answered the Duke, " and if this secret is the small number, I have doubtless betrayed it ; but if on the contrary, the ultra-royalists are as numerous as they pretend, and if they have the right to represent themselves as the organs of the national will, what is my report to them ? they will still remain what they are."

The conduct and the writings of the Duke demonstrate that he has never been a party-man ; and, that while serving several governments, he has remained firmly and constantly, the man of the nation.

It must not be believed that love of the country in a minister weakens his fidelity to his master : nay, it is only when these two sentiments are united, that his services can have their full utility and their whole extent.

The note is not sufficiently known ; the London journals have given only some fragments of it. We print it here entire.

NOTE

Of the Duke of Otranto on the State of France.

Paris, July 20.

The state of France is composed of a great number of data, which it is necessary fully to appreciate if we will not be deceived by false appearances. Several of these data are

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connected with anterior facts ; others with our permanent opinions ; with principles independent of the strokes of fortune ; the others have been produced only by the late events.

The misfortunes of France had already enlightened and conciliated people's minds before the abdication of Bonaparte, and even before the commencement of hostilities. It was no longer the question to defend personal interests foreign to those of the country ; and the King, from the moment of his entrance into Paris, found in all hearts the elements of a speedy pacification. A state of disorder still subsists, but it depends on causes easy to be removed ; it will even soon cease unless a false policy throws obstacles in the way, and it would be equally erroneous and unjust to give to this inevitable and momentary disorder, the name of resistance or revolt.

To judge of our situation, we must go back to what passed before and since the 20th of

March. Bonaparte employed more than one illusion to regain and retain the power ; and a nation when it is deceived with address, cannot be enlightened except by events. The illusion had been dispelled in the minds of men of sense before the reverses experienced by the army. The multitude are not to be brought to conviction with the same rapidity.

The causes of the evil were of long standing. It had not been sufficiently remarked, that a revolution of five and twenty years, could not be terminated without conciliations, precautions, and mutual concessions. A great part of our misfortunes have proceeded from this want of foresight. Why should we now dissemble it ? An imprudent and exaggerated zeal for the rules and the maxims of the ancient monarchy, soon made the Royalists, and even some of the King's ministers, commit several faults. There resulted from them iniquities of more than one kind, a dis-

turbance of opinion, a disaffection to the government.

This moral opposition, which was known by all Europe, could not escape the calculations of Buonaparte; he wanted no other incitement to throw himself in the midst of this discontent, and of these elements of discord. As much as the perilous chances of a conspiracy, and of the secrecy which it would have required, might have made his projects miscarry, so much could he count with a kind of certainty, upon the stupor which a great novelty always produces on the irreflection of men's minds, and the manner in which they are hurried along when they are suddenly struck by some daring and unexpected enterprize.

An isolated defection, which became too decisive, doubtless facilitated the enterprize of Bonaparte at Grenoble, in the only moment when it was still possible to avert the

evils which he was bringing upon us ; it was not so three days afterwards. He had already when he appeared before Lyons, a certain force, or at least means sufficient for an intestine war. It was at Lyons that he began to develop his artful plans. His promise to confirm civil and political liberty by all kinds of guarantees, the assurances which he gave, or caused to be understood, of being supported by Austria, produced the effect which he desired to obtain from them. He had, from this first moment, a support in the population, which no longer allowed him to be repulsed without arming the citizens against each other. This crisis was besides so rapid, that in the short passage from hesitation to infatuation, and from that to the necessity of obeying, the most rigid justice would find very few guilty, even if the fear of engaging in a civil war would permit here the application of the word revolt. It was very difficult for the citizens

to prevent what the government itself could not hinder.

It is necessary above all to notice every thing that is connected with the pacification of France. The illusion which alone supported the government of Bonaparte grew gradually weaker. A short time after his entrance into Paris, there was no doubt that he brought us foreign war. But in this interval he had seized on all the springs of government. His forces augmented every moment by the recall of the old soldiers ; he had besides replaced the hope of peace by that of negotiation.

When he was forced to explain himself upon that liberal and popular constitution which he had so pompously announced, the public expectation was deceived to such a degree that a cry of indignation resounded throughout all France. It is to be regretted that at this decisive moment negotiations could not

be opened both with the King and the Powers; the publication which Bonaparte made of his additional act would have been the signal of his forfeiture.

It was discovered also, though a little later, that he had deceived us respecting the forces which he pretended to have, and that he sacrificed us to his desperate situation. But things were come to such an extremity that without a reverse neither France nor the Army could have declared themselves. The sovereigns had made promises, and their designs were unknown, because there was indeed a great deal of vagueness in their declarations. We were ignorant also of the designs of the King, and it was feared as much for himself as for the repose of the country lest his ministers should desire to persist in some of the errors of his preceding government. The Chambers, on their side, would not expose themselves to aggravate the evils by employing false remedies, and by

anticipating events. It was particularly wished to avoid the inconvenience of being deceived respecting the will of the sovereigns, and it is this which has produced that defect of unanimity which still subsists in part, but which must be attributed to no cause but an excusable hesitation. Lastly, it may be affirmed, that if the exclusion given by the act of congress to the government of Bonaparte, had been extended to any other government than that of the King, means would have been found in France to hinder the war from breaking out. This last remark will not seem indifferent at a moment when it is necessary to fix with equity the character of real faults, nor to confound them with the effects of necessity or the embarrassment of circumstances.

These considerations though general were indispensable data for the judgment to be made on our situation. Bonaparte was irretrievably ruined before his abdication. He

had no influence remaining except over the private soldiers, who imagined they should find him still invincible. His last reverses have at length destroyed even this illusion; henceforward a stranger to France, as he has been to our manners and to our true interests, he has no more, he never will again have partisans in France whom there will be any reason to dread.

The army is in the situation in which the convention placed it; it will not violate the conditions. Neither will it be seen to infringe its duties. If it delays to declare itself with unanimity, it is because it is abandoned to itself, and government hesitates on the orders which it has to give it, because it would wish to reconcile them with all the measures of a general pacification. The army on its side considering itself as the army of the nation and the army of the King, knows not how it ought to conduct itself to serve the King and the country. The King however will

only have to dispose of it to make himself obeyed. This dissolution of the army, whether it be ordered, or whether it might be indirectly induced, would be a fault of the most serious nature. Troops when united easily resolve on obedience, and obedience is always the auxiliary of good order. The conduct and the example of the army which is essentially national (and *citoyenne*) would have the greatest influence on the pacification of the departments.

There is also hesitation in a part of the interior of France. There is even resistance on some points. It must be attributed to the ignorance of what is passing, to the interruption of the communications, to the march of the foreign troops, who it was hoped would remain stationary when the war is finished, and to the apprehensions that are entertained for the future. The negotiations for peace are not yet commenced ; the people do not know any of the intentions of the powers.

The truth, however, is that France aspires but to draw closer its union with the monarch. The sovereigns undoubtedly desire that France should be calm and tranquil. On all parts of its territory it is in their power to obtain, in an instant, this result; they have but to announce that, saving the issue of the negotiations, they themselves regard the war as ended, and France as pacified. Were this declaration not in the ordinary rules of politics, yet our situation, and the interests of the powers themselves, would require this exception. The pacification prejudices nothing; it only causes calamities to cease. The remains of our troubles can no longer be called resistance; every body desires to obey the King they wish no longer to separate the interest of the people from that of the throne. Every body is even convinced that the King, to confirm his power for ever, will find around him no obstacle

which can hinder him from giving sufficient guarantees to civil and political liberty.

The proclamations of the King would doubtless re-establish public order ; but the King, in speaking to his people, could not avoid shewing, in part at least, the destinies of France. Meantime the people will not and cannot judge of the future, except from the promises of the sovereigns—and never were promises more solemn. France has fulfilled, as soon as was possible, the only conditions that were demanded of her, and which ought to have averted the war, or to make it cease ; she has even regarded as a formal condition what was only a desire and a wish of the sovereigns.

None of the dangers which might have been feared at the peace of Paris any longer exists. It left to Bonaparte a territory, a title, and the state of a sovereign ; his abdication was only a treaty with the powers.

He has now been abandoned by fortune ; he has no longer people, or army, or pretensions. Prudence, however, requires that his situation shall leave him no means to disturb the repose of others.

His brothers never had any credit in France—they have not the great qualities which confer influence : however, it is proper to remove them from France. The head of this family will perhaps survive his abdication ; he has, besides, a son ; and if the declarations of the powers have wanted any development, it might now seem necessary to render them more explicit. For the rest, it would not be conformable either to our manners or to the principles of justice, to hinder the family of Bonaparte from selling their property in France, and from enjoying it in foreign countries. Their property is, in fact, of little consequence.

The same spirit of foresight might be applied, perhaps, to some other individuals,

but to no very small number ; for, on this point, it would be far more dangerous to extend the applications than to limit them. In public troubles one must never see any thing but the first cause which has produced them : all ceases with this cause ; and it has always been seen, that prosecutions against a faction serve only to give rise to other factions. The situation of Henry IV. when he entered Paris, was less unpleasant than that of the King, because he ascended the throne without the assistance of foreign troops, and by his own victories. Yet his clemency was without bounds. He lavished favours on his enemies, not thinking it necessary to recur to this means to retain his partizans. His kindness to the Duke of Mayenne left room to doubt whether he had not always had him at his side as his companion in battle. Mademoiselle de Guise had pawned her diamonds to set a price on the head of the king : this circumstance was for Henry but a reason more to

shew her the most marked distinction. This prince knew well that peace is not established except by making all apprehensions cease—that it is impossible to strike one head which is no longer dangerous, without threatening thousands of citizens, and running the risk of thus exciting, sooner or later, fresh convulsions. The germs of hatred, which are thrown into people's hearts at the beginning of a new reign, never die while it continues.

In vain would prosecutions be multiplied; the conviction will be obtained, that nobody has known of any conspiracy which preceded the arrival of Bonaparte on the coasts of Provence; and, before attacking any person whatever on this head, would it not be necessary first to accuse the King's ministers, who were not able either to divine or to prevent the escape from the Isle of Elba? After the landing was effected, all that passed has been only the deplorable consequence of

delusion and precipitation. One feels very clearly, that it was not a handful of soldiers that protected Bonaparte in Lyons, in the midst of a population of 100,000 souls. Some individuals; at that time, distinguished themselves, perhaps, a little more than the rest. But one would say, that he has been led away by his officers and his soldiers. Another would answer, that his troops abandoned him, or that they carried him away with them in their movement; and for one principal criminal, whom one should seek to convict, one would find either none but innocent persons, or one would find thousands of accomplices. It cannot be dissembled, that such prosecutions would appear still more odious amidst the public misfortunes. People would oppose this useless vengeance to the striking contrast of the well known magnanimity of the sovereigns. In vain it would be attempted to make it believed, that the latter require them; they would be imputed

to the King alone ; and people would call to mind that Bonaparte himself, in the last moments of his dangerous power, was at least not deficient in moderation. What answer could be made to this objection, that the throne was bound to preserve France from the return of Bonaparte, at least as much as France to preserve the throne.

Lastly, if it should be wished to remove eight or ten individuals, for one would hardly reach this number, one needs but wait a few moments and these individuals will retire of themselves. In every case arrests and sentences must be avoided. The police would have but to give a warning and the object would be attained without destroying security, without compromising clemency. France will be pacified in a moment, in every point of view that can interest the Sovereigns ; but it will never be fully so, relatively to the repose and the happiness of the King, if all is not forgotten ; if there is not an equal repres-

sion of all extreme opinions, from whatever elevation they may proceed, and if all parties do not enjoy the protection of the laws with the same certainty and the same confidence.

(Signed) THE DUKE OF OTRANTO.

The minister of Louis XVIII. gave the King the same councils of moderation and clemency which he had given to Bonaparte; taking, however, efficacious measures to remove all the causes which might replunge France into a new revolution. After having dared to sound the wounds of the state he had pointed out the remedies. But every body did not participate in his ideas; they desired examples, punishments. The preceding government of the King had committed faults, and they were going to commit still greater ones: the two ordinances on the electoral colleges and the elections offended even the most moderate minds, and afflicted

even the best servants of the King, for every body foresaw the storms which were going to be produced by this sudden transition from incontestable principles to the most serious errors.

Such errors soon led things to the point where the minister, who still opposed a barrier to re-action, would be forced to retire from office ; where all the lists that had been laid aside would successively re-appear ; where alarm would spread among the numerous classes, who, in order to remain in peace, needed only to ask every day, is he in place or not? (this would suffice at once for their security, both in respect to principles and in respect to individual and *personal* security), where, in short, conspiracies and revolts would be reproduced like the heads of the hydra.

We shall give a supplement to this biographic note when we are acquainted with the Duke's Memoirs ; it is said that they trace

with entire truth and a noble frankness the events which, for these thirty years, have brought on the various revolutions, and that they strongly draw attention to those which may prepare new ones. It is added, that they are written in views calculated to calm and to reconcile the parties which divide France. Nobody can better estimate them than he who has studied and directed them for so long a time—no one could better speak to them a language which they could and would hear.

It seems to us that these memoirs, written in a spirit of peace and preservation, are not useful to France alone. The publication of them will serve all parts of Europe where there is a great tendency to changes, which could not be effected but at the expence of happiness. When a change has been made without necessity, it is requisite to change again ; there is no stopping ; all is connected in the world ; there is nothing isolated. Let

us follow in France the consequences of the smallest innovations ; they have moved, they have subverted every thing ; there has been no asylum to escape from them ; the cottage, the throne, and the altar, have been equally ensanguined ; even the abysses of the tomb have been disturbed !

We are not yet awakened from all our dreams ; time will still be required to cure us of all the prejudices of life. Ancient times and modern times are full of them : even legitimacy has its errors, it shews itself too impatient in its reforms. It ought to be considered that states are not to be raised up so easily as they are destroyed.

We will not terminate this notice without saying a few words on the life of the Duke of Otranto at Dresden. He seems to like Saxony. He knows how to appreciate a country where, in tempestuous times, tranquillity is guaranteed at once by the ancient manners of the inhabitants ; by the respect

of the government for the laws; and by the personal virtues of a monarch who, on returning to his states, after having been separated from them, employs himself only in drying the tears which he did not cause to flow.

The Duke of Otranto sees but a small number of persons; he is absolutely confined in his family. The moments which he does not spend with them are consecrated to study. There is much said of an important letter which he has written to the Duke of Wellington on the course of public affairs for these six months past, and the publication of which is to precede that of the Memoirs. He speaks of his disgrace with the same moderation as of the other events of the French revolution. When mention is made of his enemies, most of whom are indebted to him for the happiness of seeing their country again, and many for their property and lives he contents himself with pitying them: "they are blind," he says, "and their blindness

“ will continue, for they do not comprehend
“ that they are in darkness.” Sometimes he compares the services which the ultra-royalists think to do the king and the monarchy, to those which the ultra-revolutionists have rendered to liberty and the public.

We will here mention a trait of his domestic life, because nothing is more calculated to make us know the characters of celebrated men.

Sometime ago he received from Paris some libels full of insults towards him; he hastily ran them through, making the following reflections: “ When one has received many praises one ought to expect to receive much abuse, and often from the same persons. There are vulgar characters to be found among all ranks, even among men of letters; these, as well as all others of the same description, have rage indeed but no hatred; it is the necessity of gaining a livelihood that sets them in motion in every direction. And

as their follies are paid for in proportion as they rise higher, I cannot complain of the preference which they give me,—for the rest, it must not be supposed, that the libels are dangerous ; let time take its course ; they will fall to the ground of their own accord : there is nothing firm and stable but truth.”

M. de Lanoue, a man of high distinction in the republic of letters, between whom and libellers no relation whatever exists, has written critical observations on one of the reports presented to the King by the Duke of Otranto. He reproaches him more especially on two points.*

“ No person,” he says, “ ever worked his way into administration, so amply furnished with recollections and hopes, as the Duke of Otranto. No person ever brought with him so high a reputation for skill and address. The circumstances of the times

* See *The French Intelligencer*, from Vienna, No. 23.

“ were difficult ; but he was known to pos-
 “ sess consummate experience, an extraor-
 “ dinary share of prudence, and habits of
 “ long practice, which could not fail to ob-
 “ viate all difficulties, and cause him to over-
 “ come all obstacles. Was the publication
 “ of this Memoir useful to the majority of
 “ the French nation ? and if it was present-
 “ ed with the design of opening the eyes of
 “ the King, what salutary effect could result
 “ from it to the numerous readers of all
 “ classes, on whom the Duke of Otranto
 “ can confidently reckon ? What pretext
 “ can be alleged to justify so impolitic and
 “ so dangerous a publication—a publication
 “ not less imprudent than it is unnecessary ?
 “ I beg leave to put the question to the
 “ Duke of Otranto,—if a man in private life
 “ had, by drawing so alarming a picture of
 “ our political situation, directed the public
 “ attention to this particular point ; if he
 “ had discovered nothing but a bottomless

“ abyss ; if he had offered us no other re-
“ source but despair ; had unchained all dis-
“ cordant passions, and set in agitation jar-
“ ring interests,—would such an imprudent
“ author not appear guilty either of consum-
“ mate treachery, or of unpardonable want
“ of foresight? And the man who thus
“ acts, is a man entrusted with the affairs of
“ state ; a profound politician ; one of the
“ most enlightened statesmen of Europe,
“ who forgets the sage maxim of Montes-
“ quieu, that nothing ought to be made
“ public, the inconveniences of which coun-
“ ter balance the advantage,—still less ought
“ such a publication to take place, when the
“ advantages are small, and the inconvenien-
“ ces resulting from it immense.”

Doubtless the Duke of Otranto will reply in his Memoirs to the two reproaches made him by M. de Lanoue, for having made public his report on the internal situation of France, and secondly of having only exposed

to public view a long series of evils without remedy. In the mean time we shall allow ourselves a few reflexions.

We have read this report with attention : we have re-perused it, after having made ourselves acquainted with the critical observations of M. de Lanoue,—to us it appeared to bear the stamp of a most intimate and confidential communication. The Duke of Otranto speaks of all parties, without reserve ; he lays open to them their present illusions, and their ancient errors : he throws himself in the way of all the passions, and announces his resolution to repress them. He takes no precautionary measures for his own safety, and frequently the force of his pictures, or rather the daring manner in which they are sketched, furnishes new and additional proof of the degree of secrecy, on which he had a right to reckon for his own safety. The Princes are treated in this report with all the deference due to their rank ; but he addresses

them in the language of a man, conscious of his own dignity, and who is thoroughly sensible of what he owes to the King, of whom he wishes to be the sole and exclusive minister. In the Princes he sees only the first subjects of the King: he tells them severe truths respecting the necessity of their giving incessantly the example of obedience, and of not intermeddling in public affairs, beyond the jurisdiction which the King shall deign to confide to them. He sees no other remedy for disorder and unbridled licence, than in the strict maintenance of that subordination, which restricts every one to his proper place, and causes every thing to yield and bend under the powerful hand of the monarch.

“ Two parties,” says the Duke of Otranto, “ desire in vain that a state of continual revolution should be our permanent and established system of policy. I do not belong to either of these parties. It is ne-

“ cessary that monarchy should exist in
“ France, and not France in revolutions.”

In our estimation of things, the Duke of Otranto is the very last person to whom the promulgation of this report ought to be imputed ; this minister being the sole person who has cause to apprehend danger from its publicity.

How then has it happened, that the report has been so extensively circulated ? A single copy purloined, or confided to unsafe hands, will suffice to answer this question.

The second reproach, which M. de Lanoue makes to the Duke of Otranto, appears to us to rest upon no better foundation. If his report has discovered to France the dangers which menace her, he has at the same time pointed out the means of avoiding them. His apprehensions respecting the shock and re-action of the different parties have been already realized ; and the just appreciation of their respective force has been productive

of less terror than security. Throughout the whole of this report, the King is incessantly held up to public view, with all his rights, to the love, to the loyalty, and the submission of his people: it is upon the personal qualities of the monarch, that the Duke founds all his hopes of public safety. He treats of the dangers which menace the French nation, solely in order to impress more forcibly upon the minds of all Frenchmen the necessity of rallying in defence of the throne. Every sentence of this report breathes the most ardent desire to call back from every part confidence and respect for the King.

Far from giving into despair, the Duke does not even manifest disquietude. He does not confine himself to giving vain hopes, he inspirits and encourages the public mind by positive assurances. But let us hear his own language; let us observe how he terminates his report, bearing date the 15th of August, 1815. "The organization of the

“ moral force requires that Your Majesty
“ should adopt a firm and unalterable resolu-
“ tion. It is necessary to admit the princi-
“ ple, that public opinion has become one of
“ the elements in the art of governing, of
“ which it has changed all the combinations.
“ France can only be governed by the con-
“stitutional regime. The question is not to
“ extend the power, the grand question is
“ to preserve it, and to be able to reign.

“ After the first resolution, we must of
“ necessity come to another. There are two
“ constitutional regimes, widely differing from
“ each other. Pursuant to the one, the King
“ accords as little as he possibly can—in this
“ case every thing becomes an obstacle, be-
“ cause every thing, on both sides, becomes
“ an object of dispute. It required a lapse
“ of several centuries in England, to obtain,
“ one after the other, its political laws.
“ This struggle has several times proved
“ subversive of the state. When encroach-

“ ments are made on the bounds granted
“ to the liberty of the people, the first care
“ of the latter is immediately to fortify and
“ entrench the ground ; the people surround
“ it with new out-works, on the appearance
“ of each new danger, and finish by con-
“ verting it into a strong citadel. Better
“ would it have been, reasoning on principle,
“ to have made a voluntary grant of it to
“ the people. In the second category of the
“ constitutional regime, we have a ministry
“ homogenous and responsible. The mo-
“ narch, who is the depositary of all the na-
“ tional power and majesty, is placed as it
“ were through the medium of the ministry,
“ in an impenetrable sanctuary, where he is
“ sheltered from all political storms and con-
“ vulsions. The law is equally propounded
“ by the chambers, and by the government.
“ The three branches of the legislature de-
“ fend with equal care, the rights of the
“ people, and the prerogatives of the crown.

“ The constitutional law is formed in the
“ same manner as the ordinary laws, and the
“ basis of this edifice is a constitution into
“ which scrupulous care has been taken to
“ introduce all the guarantees of liberty.
“ Contemplated under these different points
“ of view, I cannot dissemble that the new
“ Chamber, now about to be formed, may
“ furnish just cause of uneasiness : no hope,
“ no means of safety would remain to us, if
“ it were not constitutional, and if the opi-
“ nions of the ultra-royalists maintained the
“ ascendancy in it.

“ With respect to internal union and paci-
“ fication, Your Majesty would have impor-
“ tant measures to take. All union would be
“ impracticable whilst plans of re-action ex-
“ isted. Ordinances of banishment have
“ been decreed. This is a step, which Your
“ Majesty owed to Your own dignity, and
“ every one is aware, that other circum-
“ stances may contribute to render this pu-

“ nishment necessary. It is certain, never-
“ theless, that the constitutional party has
“ been apprehensive of discovering in these
“ first acts of authority, the distinguishing
“ colour of a whole reign, in like manner as
“ it was apprehensive of discovering the
“ principles of it in the ordinances respect-
“ ing the Electoral Colleges.

“ The various ideas, which I have the
“ honour of submitting to Your Majesty, dif-
“ fer but little from those, which it would
“ have been easy to adopt in 1814, and the
“ whole world may form a judgment of the
“ change, which such a system would have
“ effected as well in our situation, as in that
“ of all Europe. What a series of evils would
“ have been prevented ! We have now the
“ same course to run, and the same rocks
“ present themselves to our view ! Heaven
“ seems to have been willing to reserve to
“ Your Majesty the greatest of all glories,
“ that of fixing a term to all our revolu-

" tions. In 1814, the same men who agi-
 " tate us at the present day, were desirous of
 " extending their blows to the past, by not
 " directing their attention either to the pre-
 " sent or the future. Let us dare to speak
 " the truth. The past has never been the
 " object of attention with great princes, or
 " with statesmen, any further than as it fur-
 " nishes us with salutary lessons. The pre-
 " sent and the future are the two sole compas-
 " ses of governments. It is not what one has
 " done, but what one is actually doing ;
 " not what has been said, but what is now
 " saying, that ought principally to occupy us.
 " Reactions are not compatible with our
 " manners ; the moment that one drop of
 " blood is shed in a political revolution, there
 " is no longer any certainty that torrents of
 " blood will not be spilt.

" If, after the measures which I propose,
 " there should still exist symptoms of partial
 " resistance, that resistance must be curbed

“ by vigilance and by firmness. This latter
“ quality in particular was always the cha-
“ racteristic of great monarchs ; there is
“ nevertheless a quality superior even to this,
“ and that is prudence. Sovereigns, how-
“ ever great may be their power, are sub-
“ jected to the common law of necessity.
“ There are times when it is expedient to
“ calm, instead of irritating ; when it be-
“ comes indispensable, in preference to every
“ other consideration, to conciliate, to en-
“ courage, to inspire hope. There are two
“ doctrines which militate directly against
“ each other : let us commence by deciding,
“ which of the two ought to be followed ;
“ whether we shall endeavour to stem the
“ torrent, or swim with the stream. If the
“ question be to stem the torrent, nothing is
“ to be expected from firmness ; even des-
“ potism itself would prove unequal to the
“ effort ; there is no firmness but where there
“ is moderation. The immortal Catharine

‘ found, that the word *justice* was too much
“ for man, and that he could only support
“ *equity*.

“ Order being once re-established, every
“ one will be sensible, that indulgence, with
“ respect to the past, cannot be extended to
“ the present. The same firmness, viewed
“ under its double relation of force and mo-
“ deration, will be applicable to all the acts
“ of government, to all the ramifications of
“ public order. No deviation, no negligence
“ will be tolerated; all parties will be kept
“ in due bounds; all aberrations rectified.
“ Severe punishment will be inflicted on all
“ indiscreet individuals who shall place them-
“ selves in a state of hostility against the
“ government.

“ Yet even these first successes will not
“ suffice. In assimilating ourselves to Eng-
“ land (as much as is compatible with our
“ national character) with reference to the
“ extent of our civil and political liberties,

“ we shall have the advantage of identify-
“ ing ourselves likewise with those social dis-
“ tinctions, some of which connect them-
“ selves with the form of government, and
“ the rest with the exterior state of a nation.
“ Nothing will remain to be preserved of the
“ French Revolution, except the rights and
“ the principles which time has consecrated.
“ It will be necessary for us to be in union
“ and harmonize with all Europe, in order
“ to ensure to ourselves the means of par-
“ ticipating in all the advantages of general
“ civilization. A skilful direction of public
“ education will soon attain this important
“ object. Manners will re-assume their gentle
“ sway. By the same means patriotism will
“ revive ; the want and desire to be united
“ will result from our very calamities, and
“ from the necessity of repairing them.

“ It is to this union, it is to the good which
“ it cannot fail to produce, that we shall be
“ indebted for public spirit.”

We must not recount, with equal impartiality, the reproaches which have been thrown out against the Duke of Otranto, by men whose opinions differ from those of M. de Lanoue, but who possess the same sincerity and good faith. All their reproaches, however, may be reduced to the following :— *The Duke of Otranto has recalled the Bourbons into France ; for, with a view of facilitating their return, he has caused the French army to retire beyond the Loire, and he has been the minister of Louis XVIII.* This accusation we have frequently heard issue from the mouths of the *ultra-revolutionists*. It is absurd, but its absurdity cannot render it less our duty to mention it. What we propose to say on this head, will not prevent them from repeating it, because it is with them the echo of those false ideas which have entwined themselves round the fibres of their brain, and from which it is no longer possible for them to separate.

We shall confine ourselves to the following observations.

1st. The Duke might have contented himself with signing the instructions given to the Deputies of the Chambers, who were sent to negotiate with the ministers of the high allied powers. To these he has annexed particular letters, with which we have been made acquainted by the public journals, and in which he defends, with equal force of logic and of patriotism, the rights of the nation. In this instance, therefore, he has performed more than could have been exacted from him.

2d. The retreat of the French army beyond the Loire, was a measure judged necessary by all the members of government, and by all the chiefs of the army. None but a madman would conceive it his duty to continue a struggle, with the certainty of self-destruction. Some persons are in the constant habit of referring to the occurrences of 1793, but at that period the foreign armies were not as-

sembled ; they had not penetrated into the heart of France ; they did not know how to carry on war ; the nation was animated with enthusiasm, and its strength not exhausted.

3d. Many are astonished that the Duke should have been minister to Louis XVIII, and we ourselves, for our part, are equally surprized, that he should have accepted this terrible office. In any other person it would have been an act of temerity. But, instead of blaming, we admire him.

Louis XVIII. was the chief whom the Allied Sovereigns were desirous of giving to France, and on this condition they appeared disposed to put a stop to the calamities of war. Strangers arrived, impressed with the idea, that the return of Bonaparte was the result of a widely extended plot, they demanded lists of the conspirators, they were furnished with numerous ones. It required great patriotism and public spirit to hazard the experiment of turning aside a part of the

evils, which this fatal error was calculated to produce, especially in the first moment of the crisis, when the ebullitions of passion caused moderation itself to be regarded as a crime.

The letters, the reports, the notes of the Duke of Otranto will outlive the reproaches which have been addressed to him. He has without doubt been guilty of faults, because he has governed a long time. But there is an essential difference between the faults of great souls, and those committed by worthless minds. His letters and his reports, which we have quoted, appear, in our eyes, as so many monuments of his courage and disinterestedness. The purity of his intentions is sufficiently evinced by the very fact of his retirement from office when he could no longer prevent mischief. If he had been influenced by low and personal motives, he would have continued minister: he would have abetted the cause of re-action, instead of combating it; he would have flattered the

party in power, instead of exposing himself to their attacks, instead of immolating himself to exile and proscription.

It is impossible to calculate what would have taken place in France, if the Duke of Otranto had relinquished or refused the ministry, when Louis XVIII. arrived at St. Denis. Posterity will record the services which he has rendered to his country at this tremendous conjuncture, which menaced the state with total dissolution.

Posterity will record likewise the services which he might have rendered to the King, had his counsels been attended to.

Now that the Bourbons are seated on the throne of France, it might appear a calculation of personal interest or of vanity, in any individual who should take to himself the credit of having been instrumental in their recal. But it certainly evinces both conscientiousness and modesty to wave all pretensions to such a claim.

In our estimation, a sovereign may safely confide in the fidelity of a man, who has the frankness to say, "I have long been occupied in excluding you from the throne—the passage to which perhaps would never have been thrown open to you, had the man, to whom I acted as minister, conducted himself with greater prudence. But since Providence has placed you there, and you are of opinion, that I can aid you better than any other person, to accomplish its destinies and to be serviceable to my country, I obey the call of duty ; I devote to you all my zeal, and all my experience, whatever may be the consequences to myself."

THE END.

LETTER
OF
M. FOUCHÉ,
DUKE OF OTRANTO,
TO THE
DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

SECOND EDITION.

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CORRESPONDENCE

OF

THE DUKE OF OTRANTO

WITH

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

FIRST LETTER.

Dresden, 1st January, 1816.

ON the dawn of returning order, after public agitations of long continuance, a legislator of antiquity, and one the most renowned for his wisdom, Solon, placed reconciliation and public peace under the guarantee and the protection of heaven. Such, my Lord, was the example which I proposed for the imitation of the King. On this subject, I appeal to your testimony, of which the weight is as much the attribute of your character as of your glory.

B.

Our ills were deep rooted; there was nothing to deceive us respecting the remedies: our safety, our social existence depended on this. My voice has been stifled by the uproar of the passions; the councils of moderation have been represented as a snare; and madmen, in the wanderings of their reason, have calumniated at once my ministry under the Republic, my ministry under Napoleon, and my ministry under Louis XVIII. There are moments when all is changed into hatred or into baseness in the hearts of men.

It would be repugnant to me to occupy Europe about the affairs of my administration, if they were not connected with the most important considerations and with a knowledge of the truth. I shall re-establish facts in their order and in their integrity: many of these are unknown; others have been inverted. I shall publish authentic documents in support of them: the minutest chasm would weaken their interest. I shall relate all the causes

of our great events : I have closely observed the secret springs which have brought the passions into play. I shall explain those revolutions which have caused France to pass from the ancient monarchy to the republic, from the republic to the empire of Napoleon, and from that empire to the sovereignty of the Bourbons.

I trust I may believe that in resigning myself to this task, most important since it must serve as materials for history, it will readily be considered as a new proof of my love for my native country.

But, my Lord, time flies : I know not if things shall not have changed ere my Memoir be composed. I am, meanwhile, about to satisfy the eagerness of those who are anxious that I should enlighten opinion respecting circumstances which are personal to myself, and which have been strangely misrepresented. No one can, better than you, do justice to my sentiments and

to my principles: my whole political conduct lies open before your eyes, since the 15th of June, the day on which I had the honour to correspond with you for the first time, till the moment when I left Paris.

I know, my Lord, that the justice which I demand is solemnly and completely rendered to me by you on all occasions: it is for this very reason that I take the liberty of addressing to you the account which I am about to give. I do not fear to multiply your claims to my gratitude, because I feel that I have in my heart that with which to discharge them.

The circumstances respecting which explanations are demanded of me, refer:

- 1st. To the return of the King to Paris;
- 2d. To my acceptance of the ministry of Police;
- 3d. To the ordinance of the 24th of July, and to my administration;
- 4th. To my mission to Dresden, and to the

causes which have prevented my entering the Chamber of Deputies.

I.

I presided in the government of France when the armies of the Allied Powers advanced upon Paris. Napoleon had abdicated : but he was still at the Hôtel Elysée. He demanded to march, as General, at the head of the French army. That proposal could not be entertained : nine hundred thousand foreign bayonets had penetrated our territory on all sides, and we had not a hundred thousand men under arms.

The retreat of the army was therefore resolved on ; and Napoleon was invited to quit Malmaison whither he had retired, and to embark for the United States. His hesitations rendered his position every moment more difficult : he was too unfortunate to have a will. My solicitations for his departure may have been unfavourably judged of by him : in adversity the mind opens easily to

suspicion. I am at least certain of having merited none. I had not served him after the manner of courtiers: I have not followed their example, by abandoning him in misfortune. No one appreciated better than I the power of his genius; but no one was more convinced that his presence could only precipitate France into the last abyss of calamity. I therefore conjured him to quit the continent.

The French army, full of recollections of its glory, calculated not the number of its enemies: it burned with the desire of combating them. It is only those who like you, my Lord, know its value, who have been able to appreciate the merit of its resignation in its retreat.

In the terrible crisis in which we were, it was difficult to adopt any line of conduct without exciting umbrage. France was greatly divided respecting the choice of the sovereign who should succeed Napoleon. It was feared

that the return of the Bourbons would be signalized by re-action, by vengeance. Men no longer persuaded themselves, that a dynasty, which had suffered so much from the revolution, could sincerely pardon it. The ills we dread may be only imaginary; but such ills are on that account only more dangerous, for they are unlimited and irremediable.

All those who, in the civil and military orders, had acquired, during the last twenty-five years, rank, fortune and glory, saw in the recall of the Bourbons a renewal of their most afflicting and most gloomy disquietudes.

One party desired a foreign prince, as guaranteeing with more impartiality all existing arrangements. Another party was desirous to obtain the regency. But a regency which should have governed in the name of the spouse and of the son of Napoleon, would too much have induced the belief that it was Napoleon himself who governed. This idea

exposed France and Europe to reciprocal alarms.

The name of the Duke of Orleans was invoked by one portion of the public opinion of France. The personal qualities of that prince; the recollection of Jemappe and of some other victories of the republic, to which, in his early youth he was not a stranger; a social compact entirely new, which it was natural and easy to accede to with him; his name of Bourbon which could no longer be pronounced in the interior, but which might serve with advantage in transactions with the rest of Europe: these causes, as well as others, presented themselves as tranquillizing, to those who could not consider them as felicitous.

Others invoked the principles of legitimacy: but they made of them a false application. This principle is a mere political law, proper to each nation by which it is adopted. It is

eminently useful to all countries because it prevents in them subversions. But it is not law in reference to the law of nations. Legitimacy among sovereigns results only from the recognition which is made of each of these sovereigns. War and conquest annul that recognition and consequently that legitimacy. The partition of Poland is a proof of this. Whether Napoleon may have been legitimate or not (he was so in reality as to every sovereign but Louis XVIII), he would not the less have been overthrown. According to the present principles of Europe, we should be forced to wage war with any sovereign who should conduct himself like Napoleon. Moreover, the principle of legitimacy, even considered as the mere political law of a country, admits of considerable exception. Montesquieu shows, that there may occur between a dynasty and a people such incompatibilities that it becomes necessary to change that law in order to save that very country.

My correspondence with the ministers of the great powers and with the generals of their armies will be printed as the sequel of my Memoirs. It will make known in what manner I have sustained the dignity of the nation. There have been, of necessity, and of design, various shades in the negotiation: I hoped that my arguments would give more of force to each of my demands. However desperate affairs may be, there are subsidiary points to which we may attach ourselves; for there are different degrees of misfortune in the loss of independence. Those form a very false idea of the position in which I was, who reproach me with not having defended the rights of the nation to choose its Prince, and to fix the conditions of his power. These two points were decided by the force of circumstances. The present was no longer in my power. All would have become easy, if, as I had proposed, Napoleon had abdicated at the Champ de Mai: his tardy abdication

has subjected us to the yoke of events. I hold myself absolved from all reproach, by necessity.

The true point of difficulty has not been seized. Those who wished to drive away the Bourbons, believed that the choice of the Prince who should be called to reign over France was only of secondary interest. It ought to have been seen, that it was necessary to view the question in a different manner.

It is pretended that I paralyzed the enthusiasm of the army. Those who are of this opinion do not know the disposition of our troops. New prodigies of courage could have served only to compromise the chosen of our legions, and we exposed the capital to all the horrors of an invasion by force of arms. It was my duty to pause before the safety of the State. The greatest danger to any country is the dissolution of all social ties : this swallows up the public and private for-

tune, and no longer leaves behind it either hope or futurity.

Amidst these shocks of opinion, Louis XVIII. approached to Paris. He was proclaimed wherever the Allied Armies were. It might, from that moment, be presumed that the same spirit would reproduce the same phenomenon in the capital. The King was at St. Denis, my Lord, when I had a first conference at Neuilly with you. I did not endeavour to extenuate the faults of those who had betrayed the throne ; but, at the instant when that throne was re-established, I maintained, that it was the interest of the King to confound all in one system, perfectly followed up, of clemency and oblivion. That which is crime in a well regulated state, may be only delirium in a state of disorder. Several individuals who were suspected of treason, had been only misled in the path in which the crisis had engaged them : wisdom command-

ed with regard to them much circumspection : so long as a man believes that he has not abandoned his duty, it is possible to recal him to it.

My views obtained your approbation. Ideas of moderation seemed to assume more force when you were their organ. In the unprecedented circumstances and in the eminent stations in which we both were placed, that conference was likely to influence powerfully the destinies, perhaps eternal, of France and of Europe.

On the following day, I held the same language to the King, when I had the honour to see him at St. Denis. I expressed to him with frankness that which seemed to me best calculated to gain him all hearts, to reconcile all hatreds, to rally all parties, and to place us in harmony with the principles and the desires of the Sovereigns. The King seemed sensible to the sincerity of my language. He perceived that we had need of repose, in order

to reunite all the elements of order, dispersed by the times and by misfortune ; that it was necessary to veil all errors with extreme benevolence, and to employ every possible means of increasing every sentiment of sincerity. This interview, which I took care to make known, caused it to be presaged, that we had reached the close of all dissensions. But the French people desired something else than presages : that which is positive can alone guarantee that which is not so.

II.

Some persons reproach me for having accepted from Louis XVIII, the Ministry of Police. Without doubt, there was more safety for me in retirement from affairs, after the capitulation ; but there was greater grandeur in resisting events. Those who had followed the King in adversity arrived with strong prejudices : they were in a grievous error respecting our situation : time, which destroys all, had not destroyed their prepossessions :

some of them brought to us even their ancient routine for experience. Was it not a duty the most sacred, in my situation, to precede every storm, in order to discover the means of dissipating it? Was there too much simplicity in hoping, that, by throwing light over every circumstance, I should allay resentments, should moderate the opinions of men the most intoxicated by their passions, should subject all to their duty, should prevent reaction? We know where reaction begins: we know not where it stops. Its first ardour at least has been exhausted almost upon me alone: it has not developed and extended itself except since my departure from Paris. My entry into the ministry was an act of devotedness.

To an obscure and vain man, a place in administration may have some charm, even amidst danger, because he does not perceive it; but to me such a situation could no longer be an object of ambition. All was embarrass-

ment, obstacle and anger, to him who had decided to permit no party to dominate as conqueror. It might have been believed, on my consenting to accept the ministry, that after having honoured my life, I wished to illustrate my death.

Had I been influenced by personal considerations, I should have inflamed, rather than have extinguished, the noble rage of the army: I should not have been seen to tremble at the idea of the ruins and the blood which would then have covered Paris and France. In such a resolution, ambition had some chances: I might have hoped to continue at the head of the government of France: in that which I have adopted, can be seen only the resolution of an upright man.

It is senseless to see in the causes of the return of Louis XVIII. to the throne, the influence of certain individuals. It is not at this moment, that any one would be anxious to deny the slightest share which he might

have had in that event. You know, my Lord, that I hesitated long to accept the ministry; but, after having accepted it, I have served the King with honour, I will say with fidelity.

It would have been easy to have assumed an air of zeal, and even to have rendered myself master of the affairs of the present time by flattering the passions: I have resisted them, whatever might be the consequences to myself, because their development cannot but become, sooner or later, injurious to the King. They operated as if one party ought to have overthrown another. The government presented Louis XVIII. to the love of the French; and the passions demanded the erection of scaffolds: it was by funeral pomps that they desired to signalize his return to his capital. In opposing myself to their delirium, I have taken council only of my duty, and that council has been the sacrifice of myself. My deep conviction, in all the

periods of our revolution, has been, that order and stability are the result of respect, and not of terror.

Let the words and the acts of my life be judged, not by the comparison of one period with another, but by that which was said and done around me, at the time when I spoke and acted. If I have not been able to rule over events, I am at least certain of having made every effort to diminish the violence of their course. Have I not constantly been seen between the oppressors and the oppressed? However, I wish not to make myself more generous than I am: experience has happily taught me that we are frequently more so in adversity than in prosperity.

I find myself placed between one party which reproaches me with having served the King, and another which imputes it to me as a crime that I have served Napoleon. This last party no longer recollects, that it dreaded him so much the less as I was placed the

dearer to him on his return from Elba. What language have I held to him? I have conjured him not to disgrace the nation by vain amnesties, and I have never ceased to repeat to him that he ought to be ignorant of all.

My ministerial career has always proved one fact, which is, that my duty to my native country has ever held the first rank among my duties. I have owed only to the favour of the nation the being called to the ministry under the various governments which have succeeded each other, and which have subverted themselves when they have repelled the truth which I had the courage to place before their eyes.

I was amazed when accused of having deceived the King respecting the love of his people. What excess of flattery! to dare to tell a prince, who has penetration and intelligence, that, after twenty-five years of absence, he has become, of a sudden, the object of the love of a people, of which the

generations, so often renewed, have been reared in passions and in maxims so directly opposed to the love of the Bourbons. What assurance to hold this language, when we have been witnesses of what passed on the entry of Napoleon into Paris, on the 20th of March, when the Bourbons were unable to find one secure asylum in France!

No, I did not meditate a perjury, in inviting the King to calm all minds by ideas of security: there were no other means of confirming the state, and of giving stability to the throne. Pardon was one portion of justice. Who can at present be ignorant, that political crises are not the result of combinations, and the work of a few individuals, that every thing is dragged into the sphere which they agitate?

The Stuarts would still reign, if they had known how to banish disquietude, to gain confidence, and to give faction time to extinguish itself. Whither has their obstinacy to

speak and act as absolute masters, and to punish all resistance, conducted them? they have paved the way to the throne for the Prince of Orange, who, to maintain himself there, needed only to use his power with moderation, to dissipate alarm, and to diffuse security.

Excessive forbearance has its inconveniences; but could the complication of events, the capitulation which had just been signed, accord with any other system? Every rigorous measure, after the proclamations of the King, seemed to falsify his faith: men could no longer reckon on any thing, if the contract made yesterday existed not on the following day.

At what moment was it more necessary that the whole world should be convinced, that the word of the King was sacred and irrevocable? The slightest appearance of retraction of engagements wounded every sentiment; the terrible suspicion of having been

deceived re-entered anew into every heart; and confidence retired on all sides, and for ever.

The King could no longer do any thing but what was generous and regular: a single arbitrary act established a dangerous opposition. How punish? How place limits? And if none be placed, where shall disquietude stop? A full and entire amnesty was necessary, because there was an impossibility of punishment, without the greatest inconvenience.

I always removed from Paris the men whose presence would there have shocked decorum, I caused passports to be delivered to them, and even, I avow it, I caused to be given to several the means of removal, of which they were in want.

This measure did not give satisfaction. Misfortune does not always confer knowledge. A proscription list seemed to be all that was most profound in politics. Then, as now, every one wished to inscribe there the name

of his enemy. The ministry left there only the names which it was unable to omit, after having taken the precaution to place them under the protection of the two Chambers.

III.

I beg those who reproach me with having signed the Ordinance of the 24th of July, to transfer themselves to that epoch. If I could have effaced several of the names inscribed in that ordinance, by placing there my own, I should not have hesitated. But let us judge without prejudice of the situation of things. All minds had been pre-occupied with the idea that the throne had been subverted by the result of a vast conspiracy; that a great mass of individuals were compromised in the plot which had re-seated Napoleon on the throne; that the greater number would preserve in secret against the government a germ of indisposition, the development of which would one day trouble Europe.

I have combated with all my ability, and in every possible manner, this fatal mistake. It had become so general and so deep, that even those who had an interest in destroying it, preserved silence. At present, solemn procedures have justified my words and my writings.

The number of the partizans of Napoleon was inconsiderable. Men wished for a new order of things; but it was not him whom they desired: they dreaded his despotism. To carry with him public opinion, it was necessary for him to announce, that he was supported by England and by Austria. His proclamations caused a belief, that he returned exalted by the wise reflections of exile; that he was corrected of his ambition after having experienced all that the hazards and the vicissitudes of war could have of unexpected and terrible reverse. The French are sanguine and sensible to excess. It seemed to them, that it was a

new life, a new reign which Napoleon was about to commence after having heard, during a year, in the Isle of Elba, as in a tomb, all that truth as well as hatred have said in Europe respecting his first reign and his first life.

The idea of a conspiracy had been propagated by those who wished for proscriptions. My resignation before having demonstrated the imposture, might have caused thousands of victims. I determined to sign the ordinance of the 24th of July. It was natural to think that the passions, gradually becoming calm, justice would resume her course, and would impose silence on all revenge. If I had withdrawn myself, I should have been reproached with all the evils which I prevented by remaining in the administration.

Justly to appreciate my principles and my conduct, let any one at this moment behold what influence the passions possess, in what

rank they have placed me, who has been the first victim that they have designated !

Let my reports to the King be read ! (they have been altered : I will publish them in their integrity). Let the causes of the extravagant hatred of which I am the object be examined ! They have been comprehended by the nation. Whatever effort may be made to tear from me its esteem, the nature of things cannot be changed : falsehood cannot become truth.

I must now enter into some details, in order to reply to those who deemed my reports to the King deficient in respect, and my administration little conformable to his service.

It is less painful to me to be accused of having said severe and even harsh things to the King, than to have given him deceitful consolations, and flattering hopes. How much are princes to be pitied ! Every truth

resounds in their palaces and by their sides—it is said, it is written to all the world, except to them.

Obliged to unveil, without deceit, the situation of the state, it was my duty to direct at first the attention of the King to the evils which were the most imminent, to the dangers which threatened his power. The throne had just been shaken : it was of importance not to deceive him respecting the hidden and profound causes which alone produce the explosion of such events, and which may still prepare similar ones, if they be neglected.

I accordingly exposed to his Majesty all the difficulties and obstacles which prevented the confirmation of his authority. The greatest interest of a people is that its government should not be liable to changes ; for that cement which unites the parts of the social body, being the work of ages, scarcely ever resumes its first solidity, when a revolution has had time to dissolve it. But it is

also almost without example that a monarchy interrupted in its course, should succeed in re-establishing itself: it is at least impossible for it to reconstruct itself such as it was, after a quarter of a century of interruption, especially among the French, the movement of whose ideas is so rapid: it finds again only a feeble portion of the elements of its ancient power; its principles, its laws, its interests are no longer the same, they are identified with the march of time and the progress of illumination.

I have distinguished, amidst these obstacles, those which originated in our actual state of war, and those which had their source in our deplorable dissention. The former were the least easy to explain. I have not feared to lay before the Allied Sovereigns useful truths, and to turn their attention to the picture of our disasters. Two opposite passions seemed to lead on the foreign troops with which France was covered: by one they

realized our prayers in bringing us peace, and their arms had as great a right to our gratitude as to our confidence ; by the other, the licence of some corps delivered us up to all the calamities into which a nation can fall. The return of the King, by circumstances which were foreign to him, should then become the epoch the most disastrous in our annals ; and they should, if I may say so, have destroyed with one hand the same throne which with the other they had come to raise up.

Considerations so serious forced me to lay before the King the fatal consequences to his authority of this unexpected system of the successive invasion of our provinces when there was no more resistance, and of this violent continuation of hostile acts in a war nobly meditated for a greater aim. The affection of a people for its government is always changed by the misfortunes of their country.

There was some devotedness in writing these truths. They produced a salutary and sudden amelioration in our situation. My services in this respect have been remarked by the King : but this is not the species of service which the passions desire.

For the interest even of the Allied Powers, it was my duty to present to them the same picture. Whatever there is of profound energy and especially of the elements of sudden explosion in the character of the French, was not sufficiently known to them ; and on this subject they might justly have complained of my silence.

I had to address magnanimous sovereigns ; I could venture to say to them that victory, in this enlightened age, is insufficient to justify all the abuses of force : it is not by noble and elevated sentiments that we are injured in the esteem of great princes. Those were strangely mistaken who imagined that, by filling the cabinets of Europe with base

calumnies against my reports, they succeeded in exciting in them resentment against my name and my person : my language has been judged according to the duties which I had to fulfil.

In another report on the situation of France, where I have considered it under the aspect of its political dissensions, I have had to decide between two parties impossible to be reconciled; either to dissemble the truth, or to express it unreservedly; either to flatter or to displease. I have not hesitated; the safety of the Prince whom I served was in question, it was my duty to consult only my conscience. I have portrayed the different parties such as they are; I have showed their strength and their weakness; I have explained their designs, the submission which may be expected of them, and the concessions which they themselves expect. I have described the two great factions which agitate us, and which exist in every nation, for they are in the human heart. I have

said that when they are not equally restrained, their shock, which may every moment be provoked, places states in the greatest danger. If it is thus that the sovereigns of the earth are deceived, it must be confessed that the method is a new one.

I have not revealed to the King the names of the royalists who have abandoned him to offer their services to Napoleon; I have not wished to draw aside any veil: those of whom the honour is saved, may return to virtue.

There were only two means of serving the King—to augment his physical, and his moral force. If the physical force be sometimes necessary to repress disorder, it does not suffice to constitute a durable order of things.

We had not only to prevent all revolution internally; it was necessary that we should think how to render ourselves strong externally. It will be seen whether we have made in this respect all the efforts which were in our power. I shall discuss, in my Memoirs, the observa-

tions which we submitted to the King, respecting the chambers, public opinion, the national guard and the army. I do not participate in the error of those who believe that we are tired of war ; I fear on the contrary that we are too much accustomed to it.

I must acknowledge, that the ministry in which I had a share, had intelligence, love of good, great skill in affairs ; but the late misfortunes of the past caused it too much to forget the dangers of the future ; some of our acts were divested of foresight ; we failed in a union of power against the enemies of our country, and of one common spirit in our labours.

It was against the most violent passions that we were forced to act ; and it was the passions which judged us. Men scrutinised with attention the object at which we aimed ; but they were silent as to the obstacles which we met with. They took no account of the

ills which we prevented, and the disorders which we obviated : blame of our operations was the common mould in which every intrigue was cast.

They complained of the little energy of the police, because it was not solely directed against men whom they wished to destroy. Yet every kind of malevolence was repressed ; nothing remained unpunished. The army was agitated, but it obeyed. We sought to bring all parties into subordination, to the sacrifice of exaggerated ideas, to good order. It was not sufficient to moderate the passions ; in the South, it was necessary to enchain them.

We repeated to the Magistrates of these provinces that which the conscience of man so often tells him, that, for the strong as for the weak, there is only one benefit which is not very subject to regret, that is justice. We said to the King that with reactions there was neither public repose, nor throne, nor nation.

The multitude receiving the example of violence from those who owed to it the example of moderation, we ought to have expected that it would surmount and overthrow every barrier elevated between it and outrage. When licentiousness and servility have alternately lighted up the passions of a people, we find few men who listen to the voice of reason. What imports it to those who wish to substitute their fury for the laws, that they compromise the independence of their country, and that they shake the throne ! What to them are the lamentations of families, and the public malediction, provided they have but vengeance ! It seems that there may be times when the recollections of the past, the impressions of the present, the fears or the hopes of the future, introduce every disorder and every delirium into the minds of men.

What a spectacle does France present to Europe ! What results must flow from these

purifications, these displacings without measure ! Those from whom employments are taken away will be more sensible to the injury than the others to the benefit.

When the prisons shall be filled, when they shall be enlarged, will these acts of rigour confer a power as durable on the authority of the King as would have been given it by the pacification of France, by ideas of security and of clemency ? What shall be done when every one cries out at once, a circumstance which always occurs after restraint ? If one part of the population has been misled, is it by persecuting and by defaming it, that we shall prevent its taking part in a new revolt ? Every thing human has its limits : patience is susceptible only of a certain degree of endurance. A people cannot rest in repose when there is incessantly presented to it a futurity which disgraces it, or which threatens it ; even its tranquillity, if it could be obtained, would be a state of violence.

We were charged to watch over the maintenance of the throne and the security of the state. It must not be believed, that these duties, after so many changes, in our public spirit, in our institutions, and in our manners, could be fulfilled by the same means. All is changed in civilization: it has made happy progress; but it has also left to us new vices. We no longer find the same submission: nothing has now the same stability: troubles of a new kind have unexpectedly occurred from the shock, hitherto unknown, of public opinions; and whilst the safety of the state and the public repose are exposed to greater dangers, the reaction has lost in rapidity, and even in force, by the guarantees accorded to individual liberty. Men can no longer be governed in the same manner.

The means of obtaining influence over the people, the greatest result which government can attain, are not less changed. Religion and morality are no longer any thing more

than feeble auxiliaries of the laws. Opinion, a new element in social order, has acquired so much energy and power, that it has become the rival of authority. Obedience, which now possesses rights, makes all its efforts to defend them. Resistance may be punished, but it would be more skilful to conquer it. When the public spirit extends itself, government ought to elevate its conceptions. Force may cause orders to be executed ; but the language of power has no longer any thing more than a feeble authority, if it be not aided by persuasion, and supported by reason. To be listened to by different parties, it is necessary to enter into their passions, to speak to each its own language : there is no longer any general eloquence.

With so many new difficulties, the police had need of new powers and encouragements. Although in general its action is extended, there are points in which we render it useless. Of what use to the government of the King is

that restless and minute inquisition into private manners, imprudent expressions, and even strokes of scandal, which no law is capable of punishing?

It is now no longer the question to spy out individual discontent, nor even rash discourse: there is more of tolerance in our manners. The public liberty has become, if we may say so, a new conscience, to which we cannot do violence; it serves as anegis to liberty of opinion. That which must be watched over, is turbulence, intrigue, and especially force. Espionage ought not to violate the asylum of citizens. From whatever height in the classes of society, the plan of an outrage derives its origin, the auxiliaries of which it must have need, will be sufficient to cause its discovery, and these do not hold so high a rank. However, the security of the person of the Monarch requires particular measures: it ought to be the object of special and perpetual but unobserved watchfulness.

Complaint has with reason been made of the violation of the secrecy of letters. Such violation is odious, and useless when it is known. We have always rejected it: it has been devised only by persons of little understanding who do not perceive the aim of those means which they employ.

In what researches then was the police employed? In those of delinquencies and crimes defined by the laws. Of what success may it claim the honour? It may do so when it ascends to the first causes which, every day, augment the progress of immorality; when it discovers the slightest movements preceding public troubles; when it attains a knowledge of the wants of the people, its subjects of disquietude, its motives of alarm, its secret complaints and the discontents which shew that its fidelity is already shaken, and principally those frightful symptoms of misery and of despair which, no less formidable in individuals than in the mass of the people,

soon excite weak men to crimes, and corrupted nations to revolt.

The police is a political magistracy which, independant of its special functions, ought to concur, by means irregular, but just, legitimate and beneficent, to augment the energy of all the springs of government. The ostensible march of authority necessarily places limits to its action. Great objects occupy it much; others are lost in the crowd, and escape it. All is not exterior, all is not in view in social order: there is as it were a secret world in the middle of the public world: the ordinary authority cannot penetrate thither; success is too far above its reach.

It is not a police which factions there demand: they want informations, the communication of secrets, personal marks, a number of little nothings which they transform into affairs of importance. The faculties of all the agents of police scarcely suffice for the complicated and clandestine movement of

a machine which can serve only to ruin good and honourable men, and to render the government contemptible.

To what end has served the importance given to the escape of Mr. Layalette? To render evident how impossible it is for the minister of police to have his eyes and ears every where, and to give more eclat to the heroic devotion of a young woman.

Whatever we may do, the whole earth is sensible to that which is generous; misfortune is an affecting object. It is very true that every government has the right to pursue its enemy; but where is the necessity for making a noise when it has known neither how to keep him nor to reach him? The exercise of that right is not as excellent as it is legitimate. This manner of thinking is an instance of weakness perhaps; but it is universal, it is honoured, and even the force which surmounts it is not so.

Admirable effect of the power of morality! Generations shall occupy themselves respecting the manner in which Mr. Lavalette has been rescued from death, and all the efforts of power will not succeed in throwing a stain on those who have environed him with their noble and vigilant sympathy. All that is not inexorable and barbarous has applauded their success and their courage. They have rendered themselves culpable in the eye of the law; but they have realized a prayer offered up by humanity.

We have often been reproached with not having informed the King of what was done every day by his courtiers, his ministers, the ministers of foreign powers, of what passed in the interior of families, &c. &c. &c. This is the police of a courtier who is desirous of pleasing, or of a subaltern who is in need of such means of making his merit be seen: it is not ours. A minister must calculate well on the indulgence or on the weakness of his

master, in order to make to him, every morning, a recital of anecdotes which tend, more or less, to degrade the objects of his choice. How dangerous are superficial men by the side of princes! they have always something to say, and nothing to think.

The tranquillity of states does not depend on the circumstances which affect only the higher ranks of society, or on the disposition of mind which we there observe: the ambition which agitates the great has no political influence, when it allies itself not to some popular interest: intrigues, conspiracies, revolts are impotent and vain, when they are not favoured by opinion, and supported by the effective cooperation of the multitude.

There is no opposition to be feared in the public councils, no secret factions to be dreaded, when the monarch has in his behalf the affections and the power of the people.

The tranquillity of the state is intimately connected with the moral dispositions of the

laborious classes, of which the people is composed, and which form the basis of the social edifice. A good police judges not of these dispositions by the applauses which men the most vile and the most wicked ever obtain during the period they are in power.

The multitude will be perpetually calm, if we frankly attend to its interests, if we remove whatever may alter its confidence, may wound uselessly its prejudices, may corrupt its modes of thinking and of acting, may mislead its ignorance and its credulity.

It is because these principles had been swerved from, because a complaisant and frivolous police had almost exclusively attached itself to the footsteps of the great, instead of being occupied about the people, that in the bosom of prosperity, of ease and of peace, when there existed no apparent motive of insurrection, it could not arrest the first bursts of the revolution, of which the germs

had fermented during forty years, without being perceived, or at least without any obstacle being opposed to them.

Our doctrine could not be agreeable to those who were desirous that the police might be rendered, not a magistracy which might confound under one common protection all the parties whom the revolution had produced, and all those whom it had combatted, but an inquisition where they should obtain a welcome reception for their secret denunciations and the conspiracies which they unceasingly meditate to allure into them some miserable victims.

Our system of moderation was extremely opposed to those who matured the plan of causing the arbitrary prosecution of pardoned errors. The lessons of history are lost; we ought however to recollect them: all is not success in hypocritical progress; we seldom obtain the confidence of men but by good

faith ; this is equally necessary for the exercise of their rights and for the fulfilment of their duties.

But why always compel the delivery of the registers of the past, if we there see only the miseries of others, and never those of our own hearts? Why seek to disgrace those whom we replace? Let us become more wise and more great, if it be possible for us! Old children, you trample under foot that which you yesterday admired : those whom you applaud to-day you will proscribe to-morrow.

When will good sense take possession of you? When will you learn to observe and to judge? When in fine will you become men?

Many of those who speak not except with slander of that which has passed during the last twenty-five years, have been actors, actors indeed very obscure, in the greater number of the scenes of our revolutions : accord-

ing to circumstances, they have been able to deny or to avow the parts they have played; but yet they have played, they have appeared on the scene; they owe even the little importance which they possess in their communes to the places which they have occupied under Napoleon. Many have done well: let them not fear to avow it! Good does not disfigure life at whatever period it may have been done.

Instead of abjuring themselves, of denying themselves, they 'ought with all the world to allow, that political storms, like those of nature, do not produce only evils. It is a foolish enterprize to seek to obscure that which has been done of great and useful in our revolutions: we owe to them that admirable system of administration which sustains France even at this moment.

Since we have been subjugated by Napoleon, there is little honour and little judgement in slandering him. No one can contest his

genius and his glory: the world is full of them. The traveller smiles with pity in seeing broken, the marbles which the hand of the arts had rendered its chiefest works, and effaced, at great expense, the eagles found on the monuments which he had repaired or erected; as if the memory of facts must perish with the marbles and with the eagles!! as if the chief works of art which are stolen to be destroyed, did not receive from this very circumstance a higher price and greater distinction.

Why blush at the admiration which we have had for Napoleon? all was prodigy in the commencement of his reign. His glory had struck all men, from the highest ranks of society even to the inhabitant of the cottage. He possessed not only the genius of battles, he possessed a science more useful than armies, that of knowing how to employ them. His foresight seemed to render him master of events; obstacles were foreseen, every

thing had the air of being disposed in advance to conquer them. His treaties were as rapidly drawn up as his battles were gained. At what time did France possess greater splendor and greater power, than at the moment when every sovereign recognized Napoleon! when all the solemnities of religion consecrated him upon the throne!

At home, every germ of quarrels and of combats seem to be forgotten; so many interests, so different, so complicated, so crossed, appeared to be conciliated; all parties lived in peace, each by the side of another; the various sects divided the temples and the altars. Who, therefore, did not then court favour, one smile from Napoleon? Those were the least agreeable to him who prostrated themselves the most.

Abroad, Napoleon had suppressed war in the first battles. The daughter of the Cæsars had not disdained to unite herself with him before the altar. Every sovereign wished to

live in peace with France. In case of hostilities, the love of glory would have assembled, under her standards and her laurels, her entire population, which had learned to reckon heroism among its wants and its enjoyments.

The destiny of Napoleon was so fertile in wonders that it seemed not to have its causes on the earth. His reign assumed the forms of durability, and almost the attributes of that sacred character which time stamps on those works over which it passes. All that grandeur which received the respect of the world, because it seemed immutable, has been annihilated in the excess of his power. The hope, and the fear, of seeing it renewed, had followed him into the isle of Elba: all has for ever perished on the field of Waterloo.

If Napoleon had been able to resist the united foreign armies, he would have fallen subsequently before the power of the opinion of France, which pardoned him not for

having failed in the solemn engagements into which he had entered on his disembarkation.

There is something sacred, which cannot be violated with impunity, even by him who seems to have boundless authority; that is, probity. He who in the days of his glory had become the arbiter of the destinies of Europe, has seen, when he sported with his word, when he wished to make that sport a privilege of his throne, burst out against him, in an equal degree, the just indignation of those very sovereigns, and of those very nations, whose faith he had obtained and to whom he had given his. Every arm in Europe was raised to reverse an arbitrary authority which could not be restrained by opinion, nor guided by intelligence, nor subjected to its own peculiar interest. Such was the fatality of the position of Napoleon; he found himself reduced like all those who abuse their power, to conquer perpetually, in order not to be destroyed by vengeance.

May that which has passed instruct us! In springing from one abyss, let us not permit ourselves to be borne into another! All irregular powers destroy themselves; the extremes the most opposed, produce in political economy, the same phenomena, and equally destroy nations. In effect, whether an excessive authority be in the hands of one or of many persons, there results from it the same moral degradation of individuals, and the same weakness of the state. It wants no despotism, no danger, whether it comes from the thunder which bursts in the skies, or from the torrent of popular errors which ravage at least, if they do not overthrow.

I foresaw the storms which would be induced by the mode and the results of the election of one of the Chambers; I desired that the activity of the deputies, which was about to become devouring, should be restrained by the establishment of communal assemblies: it is the subversion of this first

bulwark of our liberties, which has brought on the fall of all the rest.

Before belonging to the government or to the state, man belongs to the places which have seen his birth ; it is in the bosom of a family that is born and developed the germ of the first sentiments of native country ; and the communal interest is the principle of all other political interests.

Those who imagine that we can bind men by the apparatus of complicated formulæ, and govern them by the promulgation of some abstract principles, know neither the human heart nor the sources of power : it may be said, that they have studied the anatomy of free constitutions, only on dead systems. It is obedience which constitutes the measure and the end of power : they are free constitutions which bind men. The more we multiply the habitual relations which unite them—the more we render them confident and strong in that union ; the more has the

government of means, the more of energy and of power. It is by the re-establishment of the municipal administration, that we can amalgamate the throne with the people. The municipalities are the first units in the order of national representation, which ascends to the legislature; and the last in the order of executive power, which descends and terminates in them.

However, in lieu of so many little communes which cannot touch and balance each other without frequently embarrassing and restraining, instead of mutually aiding, each other, I greatly diminished the number. It is the nature of things and of men which requires, which even exacts, that civil and political bodies should neither be too little nor too great: in the first case, they are trampled on, or pressed at least; in the second, they at least press, if they do not trample on others. Among social, as among natural beings, we want neither giants nor dwarfs.

IV.

My Lord, I permit myself to engage in discussions which lead me from the object of this letter, and anticipate subjects which I ought to treat of only in my Memoirs.

The system which began to rule and which every day extended itself further, obliged me to think of retiring from affairs. The King had been able to re-ascend the throne amidst peals of thunder, but I was not of opinion that it would be amidst peals of thunder that he could maintain himself there. It is corruption and inexperience which destroy states: it is virtue and ability which re-establish them.

They wished the King might show firmness, and they dragged him into a false career; for whatever is done on the side of a party which dominates is ever an act of weakness: there is no firmness but in moderation, nor force but in resistance to the passions which cry for revenge.

I prayed his Majesty to receive my resignation: I myself remitted to him the letter which contained its motives. The King did me the honour to reply, that he would reflect upon it. I waited the answer some days: receiving none, I took the liberty to write a second letter, in which I developed anew all my motives, all my disquietude respecting a future which menaced at once his throne, his dynasty and the independence of my native country. His Majesty this time accepted my resignation, and had the goodness to assure me, by a letter written in his own hand, that he would bear in remembrance my services, and that I should lose none of my fortune by my withdrawing.

My political life was accomplished: it only remained for me to chose the place of my retreat. When a man has the misfortune to be celebrated, the place which is the least known receives eclat, when he wishes to retire to it. I wished at least to escape

from calumny, by the simplicity, by the obscurity, and by the happiness of my domestic life.

Some are astonished, that, in quitting the ministry, I did not enter the Chamber of Deputies, to which several electoral colleges, especially that of Paris, had called me. Could I have struggled with advantage against the ever increasing excess of reaction? Let any one read the debates of the Chamber, and he will judge what I could have expected from such a contest.

What success could I promise myself in an assembly where influence belonged to exaggeration; where anarchy the most intolerable seemed the necessary instrument of the re-establishment of order? What could I say to men who see the power and strength of the King in the violation of his word, and treason in the language of moderation: who believe they have the right of excluding from the Chamber one of its members, without

judging him, without even pronouncing his name, and of exiling him, by comprehending him in the generalities of a law. Justice and the voice of a nation, when they are able to make themselves be heard, will demand, of what that mandatory has rendered himself culpable, since the time when France has chosen him to defend her rights? how a vote given twenty-three years before, which had not prevented Louis XVIII. from nominating him his minister, nor the Allied Sovereigns from bestowing on him marks of consideration, could become, at this day, a subject of proscription? If this were possible, it would not be the proscribed person whom we had reason to pity.

I ought not to have expected to be removed from my native country by the Frenchmen for whom I have opened the entrance into it, after having there ensured their security. I have not, however, been greatly astonished: when we have suffered

much from the caprices of fortune, we know the human heart and the secret of its fickleness. Nevertheless, there takes place so sudden a contrast in the manners of those who are around us, their language of adulation passes so quickly into that of calumny, the hour of the multitude who surround us, and that of the solitude in which they suddenly leave us as an object of contagion, are so closely approximated, that, for the first instant, the mind the most firm and the most tried by fate, is apt to be troubled.

In what could I add to all the efforts which I have made, both as president of the government of France, and as minister, in order to oppose myself to the reaction of ill, to urge furious men to sacrifice their pride and their resentments to the great interests of the nation, in order to think no longer but of the safety of all? I have exhausted with regard to them, all that reaches the heart of the friends of their native country. I shall not

cease, from the depth of my place of exile to repeat my last words at the moment of withdrawing from Paris :—

“ How dare to speak of the triumph of a party, when the same calamities either strike or menace all of us ? There is no more a hope of national independance; there is no longer any honour, but in our union.”

I should vainly have reckoned on the support of a portion of the Chamber : there are there many men superior to the passions, by their intelligence and their reason ; but there are there also timid men, ruled by the fear of drawing upon their native country greater evils by their resistance than by their resignation. At one time are held up in terror to them the phantoms of our revolutions, of which the moving power is destroyed, for every thing on earth has an end ; at another, they are threatened with foreign troops.

It is absurd to suppose, that a faction would at present receive the slightest protection.

from abroad. If one party dominate, the particular obligations of the sovereignty become more strong than its general obligations. It is no longer the Allied Sovereigns who triumph over France; it is a party which triumphs over the nation: the civil war has only changed its place; the ultra-royalists are the conquerors, and all other Frenchmen are the conquered.

What advantage could be derived from supporting a party? The tomb would soon close over it: terror even could not maintain it, for terror is dissipated on the first glimpse of security; another party would have its turn and its moment of domination. What would become of the authority of the King? Kings reign not long with party. What would become of France and of Europe, if we were torn by the alternative and transient triumphs of faction.

My Lord, England herself owes, only to the Ocean which surrounds her, preservation

from our discords and our ravages, which have become those of all nations: Let her remember that the Ocean has been on the point of being crossed! Our prosperity would be more useful to her than our misfortunes; but there will no longer be an opportunity of preventing these, if we are overwhelmed by them. Where find again a nation, when there are no longer any general interests, when all the bonds of social existence are broken, when the heart of the state is struck, when there is no longer a native country?

I am pleased to behold the image, and the emblem of the powers of this world, in that divinity whom ancient mythology represented with two heads, one turned toward past ages, and the other toward ages to come. The Sovereigns will not a second time fail in their noble aim! Our convulsions will no longer agitate Europe: we shall receive a guarantee of our independence, because we ourselves will give one of our repose.

Far from me be the idea, that there is a party which wishes to make itself the horrible instrument of the division of France ! I refuse not to my enemies the justice which I owe to all men : there is more of frivolity and of blindness in the spirit of party than of criminal views. Men rarely foresee the ills which they do not yet feel. Those who have led the monarchy into the career of abysses, believe, perhaps, that they have saved it. Their ignorance in matters of government is to them a discovery yet to be made.

In human affairs, men frequently permit themselves to be hurried into the most deplorable excesses by names which consecrate them. May Heaven grant that the word Legitimacy may not cost us as many tears as the word Equality ! Ill is almost always executed under hallowed pretexts.

On the 27th of June, I wrote to your Excellency the following words :

“ The republic has made us acquainted with whatever is most disastrous in excess of liberty ; the empire, with whatever is most disastrous in excess of power : our prayers are to find, at an equal distance from these excesses, independence, order and peace.”

I conclude this long letter by repeating the same prayer : may every species of exaggeration have reached its conclusion ! In all parties, when the passions are lighted up, their errors resemble ; and it is the fate of the finest sentiments to exalt themselves to a degree, in which they are only destructive.

I renew to Your Excellency the assurance of my highest consideration.

(*Signed*) THE DUKE OF OTRANTO.

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